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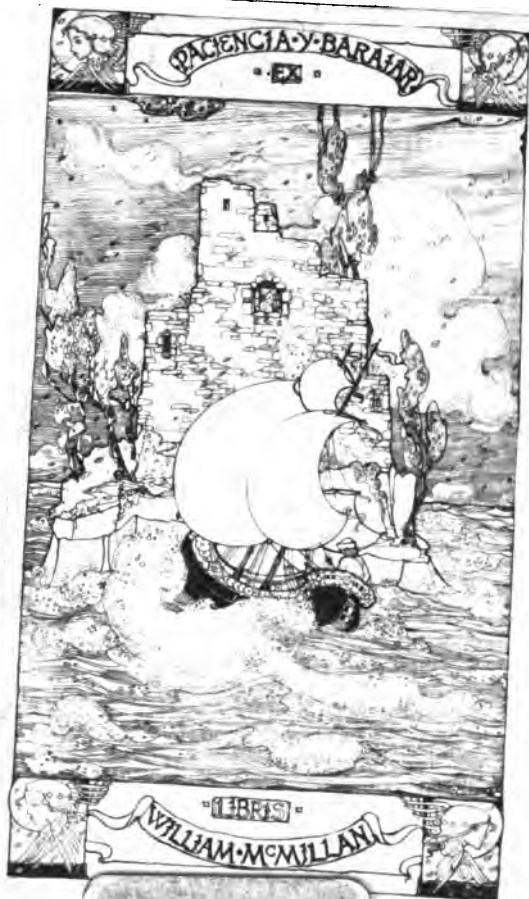
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CPD
Ascanius

1. ✓ Jacobite rebellion, 1745-1746
2. ✓ Chas Edw, Young Pret





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ASCANIUS,
OR, THE
YOUNG ADVENTURER



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ASCANIUS;
OR, THE
YOUNG ADVENTURER:

CONTAINING
AN IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION IN SCOTLAND,

In the Years 1745-6;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS,
AND DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER;

TOGETHER WITH THE
MIRACULOUS ADVENTURES AND ESCAPE
OF
THE YOUNG CHEVALIER,
After the Battle of Culloden.

BELFAST:
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NIUS ;

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ADVENTURER.

BOOK I.

*Partial account of the Re-
volution, in the year 1745.*

The Stewarts is of great an-
tiquity; accounts deduce them
from Adam, but antiquity is
not security; however, we
first of them who reign-
ed Robert II., nicknamed
the Good, descended from Walter
Bruce, daughter to
Mary Bruce, daughter to
Robert I. In the year 1371,
he ascended the throne of Scot-
land as King David Bruce II.

He was succeeded by
James I. of Elizabeth, Queen of
England, who ascended the throne of
Scotland in the year 1424.

James I. of Scotland 1424

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ASCANIUS ;

OR THE

YOUNG ADVENTURER.

BOOK I.

Containing an impartial account of the Rebellion in Scotland, in the year 1745.

THE family of the Stewarts is of great antiquity: the earliest accounts deduce them from a thane of Lochaber, but antiquity is ever involved in obscurity; however, we are certain that the first of them who reigned in Scotland was Robert II., nicknamed Blear-eye. He was descended from Walter Stewart and Marjory Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce. In the year 1371, Robert Stewart ascended the throne of Scotland, as next heir to King David Bruce II. his mother's brother,

Upon the death of Elizabeth, Queen of England, the succession to the throne of

James I. - King of Scotland, 1424

that kingdom opened to the family of the Stewarts, in consequence of a marriage alliance betwixt the royal blood of the two kingdoms. James VI. was the first of the race of the Stewarts who ascended the English throne. He had come to the throne of Scotland in 1567, and after the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1604, he succeeded to the crown of England. Thus came the family of the Stewarts to reign over Scotland and England.

This ancient and noble family governed these realms, in an uninterrupted line, down to James VII. This unfortunate prince had a blind attachment for the Popish religion. During his administration he openly discovered it, and exercised, for a time, amongst his subjects, all those tyrannical measures which that religion naturally instigates those princes, who are its votaries to pursue.

His eldest daughter, Mary, was given in marriage to William, Prince of Orange. This prince the nation invited over, to redress the grievances they suffered under his father-in-law. James foreseeing the consequences that would ensue, withdrew himself privately from the kingdom, and retired to France with his queen and Prince, then an infant. Upon this, William and

his consort were proclaimed king and queen. The succession to the crown was secured, by several acts of parliament, to Protestant heirs alone; which order of succession had been constantly observed since that time.

The first interruption, we see then, in the lineal descent of the family of Stewarts, in their succession to the crowns of Scotland and England, was in the person of James VII. This was in the year 1688; on account of which singular accident, it is called the Revolution year. Two efforts have been made, since that time, to restore the former succession. Prince George made an effort in 1715, and his son, Prince Charles, made another effort in 1745; but both these proved unsuccessful. An account of the attempt made by Prince Charles is given in the present history.

While the attention of Britain was employed in the war, in which it was at that time engaged with France, the plan of an insurrection, in favour of Prince Charles, was formed. It is thought to have been owing chiefly to the politics of France, that this project took place. The French ministry foresaw, that an invasion of this kind would embarrass Britain, and make a diversion in their own favour. The project was also favoured by the dispositions of many of the

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strict orders to Sir John Cope, generalissimo of the king's forces in Scotland, to take all possible care to prevent him from making his party formidable, and if possible to take him alive or dead; and as an inducement to this, a reward of £30,000 was set on his head.

Before the end of August, two companies of General Sinclair's regiment being sent to reconnoitre the Highlands, were most of them made prisoners, as was soon after Captain Swethenham of Guise's foot. This gentleman being released gave the government the first circumstantial account of the number and condition of the Highland forces.

Ascanius now prepared to march southward with a view of taking the city of Edinburgh; while, in the mean time, Cope having collected all the king's forces in Scotland, and armed the militia, marched to the Highlands in quest of Ascanius; who, not choosing to risk a battle in his infant state of affairs, gave the old general the slip over the mountains, and (September 4,) entered Perth without resistance. The news being carried to Cope, who was got to Inverness, after a very fatiguing march; he saw no other remedy but to march back, though not the same way he came; accord-

ingly he ordered transport ships to meet him at Aberdeen to carry his forces to Leith. Meantime, Ascanius proclaimed his father at Perth, where he was joined by several persons of distinction, who brought supplies of men and arms: from thence he marched his troops to the river Forth, which they forded on on the 13th—Ascanius first plunging in at the head of the infantry. Directing his march towards Glasgow, he summoned it, but receiving no answer, altered his rout, and marched for Edinburgh, which he reached before Cope had time to return from Aberdeen.

While both parties were thus advancing towards the metropolis, the inhabitants were preparing for a vigorous resistance; but the Prince having many friends in the city, no sooner came near it, than a treaty of surrender was entered upon, and on the 17th the provost admitted him into it; however, the brave, though very old, General Guest, retired with a few regulars into the castle, which he held for the king. While the Prince was entering the city, Cope was disembarking his troops at Dunbar, within two days march of Edinburgh; and being there joined by Brigadier Fowke, with Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, marched on the 19th, and encamped that night near Had-

dington. Marching early next morning they arrived at Prestonpans in the evening where they perceived Ascanius's troops on the hills towards Edinburgh, at which place only a small body of Highlanders were left to secure a retreat thither. That night both parties lay under arms, and firing frequently passed between them. On the 21st about three in the morning, the king's troops were briskly attacked: some dragoons retreated on the first fire, and left the infantry exposed to the broad-swords of the Highlanders, with whose weapons and manner of fighting they were unacquainted; and not having time to recover the disorder they were thrown into, they were finally routed in a few minutes; about 300 were cut to pieces, and most of the rest made prisoners. The conduct of the gallant Colonel Gardiner, in this action, will be remembered and admired by latest posterity.

The following circumstances of his death are narrated by P. DODDRIDGE, D.D. and may be relied on as authentic.

"On Friday, September 20, 1745, the day before the battle, when the whole army was drawn up, I think about noon, the Colonel rode through all the ranks of his own regiment, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner,

both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever should be the event of the battle.

“They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, both as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms; and also, as the circumstance of making an attack would be some encouragement to them, and probably some terror to the enemy, who would have had the disadvantage of standing on the defence. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly well acquainted, as it lay just at his own door, and he had rode over it so many hundred times. But this was overruled, as it also was in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have had planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing; where he was apprehensive, that the

horses, which had not been in any engagement before, might be thrown into disorder by the discharge so very near them.

“ When he found that he could not choose either of these points, nor some other which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with some unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences which he apprehended, which did in fact follow; and submitting to Providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

“ He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field.

“ About three in the morning, he called his domestic servants to him, of whom there were four in waiting. He then dismissed three of them, with most affectionate christian advice, and such solemn charges relating their duty and the care of their souls as seemed plainly to intimate, that he apprehended it at least very probable, he was now taking his last farewell of them.

“ The army was alarmed by break of day by the noise of the Rebels’ approach, and the attack was made before sun-rise, when it was light enough to discern what

passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it was said, that the dragoons, which constituted the left wing, immediately fled. The Colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole, lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant who led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat; but he said, it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the mean time it was discerned, that some of the enemy fell by him, and particularly one man who had made him a treacherous visit a few days before, with great professions of zeal for the present establishment.

“The Colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by that worthy person, Lieutenant Colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk, and by Lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also, by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic; and though their Colonel and some other gallant officers, did what they could

to rally them once or twice—they at last took a precipitate flight; and just in the moment when Colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, he saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, “Those brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander,” or words to that effect, which, while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, “fire on my lads, and fear nothing.” But just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on the right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him, while he was thus entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse.

“The moment he fell, another Highlander, whose name was M^cNaught, and who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broad sword or a Lochaber-axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that

his faithful attendant saw farther at that time was, that as his hat was fallen off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal for him to retreat; and added what were the last words he ever heard him speak, "Take care of yourself;" upon which the servant retired, and immediately fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the Colonel fell, where he changed his dress, and disguised like a miller's servant, returned with a cart as soon as possible; which was not till near two hours after the engagement.

"The hurry of the action was then pretty well over, and he found his much honoured master, not only plundered of his watch, and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots, yet still breathing, and though not capable of speech, yet on taking him up, he opened his eyes; which makes it something questionable whether he was altogether insensible. In this condition, and in this manner, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house, and laid in bed, where he continued breathing, and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon, when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow, and undoubtedly rose to those distinguished glories

which are reserved for those who have been so eminently faithful unto death.

“From the moment in which he fell it was no longer a battle, but a rout and carnage. The cruelties which the rebels inflicted on some of the king’s troops, were dreadfully legible on the countenances of many who survived it. They entered Colonel Gardiner’s house before he was carried off from the field, and plundered it of every thing of value, to the very curtains of the beds, and hangings of the rooms. His papers were all thrown into the wildest disorder, and his house made an hospital for the reception of those who were wounded in the action.

“The remains of this Christian hero were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the Parish Church at Tranent; where he had usually attended divine service with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured by some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy.”

Many other principal officers were desperately wounded, and a considerable number of the common men made prisoners. All the cannon, tents, &c. of the vanquished were taken,

Cope had the good fortune to escape to Berwick, with the Earls of Loudon and Hume; and Brigadier Fowke and Colonel Lascelles got safe to Dunbar. This was called the battle of Prestonpans, or by some the battle of Seaton, from two little towns near which it was fought; but it is more properly called the Battle of Gladsmuir, which was the field of action, a wide barren heath, about seven miles east of Edinburgh. We have no certain account of the number of Cope's army; the regiments he had, were those of Gardiner, Hamilton, Lee, Guise, Murray, Lascelles, and Loudon; but of these almost every one wanted near a third of their compliment; and in all, they are supposed not to have exceeded 4000—sutlers, &c. &c. included. The victors did not exceed 3400, above two fifths of which did not fight.

From this victory Ascanius reaped great advantages. It inspired his followers with courage, intimidated his enemies, and many, who before that time, acted upon the reserve, now crowded to his standard. This victory also put his army in possession of fire-arms and ammunition, with which they were formerly ill provided. He now returned in triumph to Edinburgh, loaded with the spoils of his late victory, where he

took up his presence in the palace of Holyroodhouse. He levied an army in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood; imposed taxes; compelled the city of Glasgow to furnish him with a large sum; and laid the country round under contribution. The things he judged necessary, to enable him to carry on his enterprize with vigour, money being the nerves of war.

We cannot help observing the conduct of the French court on this occasion: when they had heard he had gained a victory, they supplied him with money, artillery, and ammunition—his interest with them seemed to depend on the success of his arms.

Ascanius did not find so many in the kingdom espouse his cause as he was made to believe; the greater part of the kingdom did not favour his family and pretensions; but they were unarmed and undisciplined, and therefore could make no resistance.

And even in the Highlands, where Ascanius thought a good part of his interest lay, there were found many friends to the government, who, in the most open manner, avowed their loyalty. Argyle armed his vassals; the Earl of Sutherland brought to the field 1200 men; Sir Alexr. M'Donald, and the Laird of M'Leod, sent 2000 hardy islanders from Sky, for the service of the

government; and many other clans appeared under their several potent chiefs. There was also a body of gentlemen, who served on horseback at their own expense, stiling themselves the *Royal Hunters*, of which General Oglethorpe had the command—surely the sacred flame of liberty glowed warmly in the breasts of these gentlemen, who stood forth in the cause of their country, on such honourable terms.

At the same time, Duncan Forbes, Esq., Lord President of the court of session in Scotland, particularly distinguished himself there, by his zeal for the Georgian interest; and it was principally by his means, that a considerable body of Highlanders and other Scots were raised, under the command of the Earl of Loudon, for the security of the forts of Inverness, Augustus, and William, a chain of fortified places, commanding the north of Scotland.

But notwithstanding all these preparations, the intrepid Ascanius resolved to pursue his designs through all obstacles. On the first of November, he went from Edinburgh to the camp at Dalkeith, from whence he daily despatched his agents into England, and received intelligence of what was doing there both by friends and enemies; and, though he had the mortification to find,

contrary to the assurances he had received, that the former were but few; yet he still inflexibly resolved to push on the daring attempt, having only, as he publicly signified, a crown or a coffin in view. He hoped, that by his presence in England, he should be enabled to put new life into his friends, to reclaim the apostate, fix the wavering, animate the fearful, and inspire the zealous with that activity, courage, and contempt of danger, of which he would give an immediate example.

With these views, and in this resolute disposition, he began his march for Carlisle, with an army not exceeding 6700 effective men—a small number for such an expedition; but he relied much on English reinforcements, and more on the timely descent by the French in the south; for in case of such a diversion, nothing could have obstructed his march to London. The principal persons in his army were, the Duke of Perth, general; Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general; Lord Elcho, son to the Earl of Wemys, colonel of the life-guards; the Earl of Kilmarnock, colonel of a regiment mounted and accoutred as hussars; Lord Portsligo, general of the horse; the Lords Nairn, Ogilvie, Dundee, and Balmerino; Messrs. Sheridan and Sullivan, Irish gentle-

men ; General M'Donald, his aid-de-camp ; John Murray, of Broughton, Esq. his secretary ; and many others.

On the 6th, the army passed the Tweed, and entered England. Marshal Wade was at this time, as hath been observed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and might have intercepted Ascanius on the borders ; but being ignorant of the route he intended to take, whether by Carlisle or Newcastle, the cautious old General determined to wait Ascanius's motions, and by them regulate his own : but this conduct rendered his army of little use to the government in this critical and dangerous juncture ; for Ascanius taking the Carlisle road, arrived at that city, (which is almost parallel to the Scots coast with Newcastle, from thence it is but three winter days march,) and took it before Wade could arrive to prevent him. After proclaiming his father here, he proceeded southward, after leaving a garrison of Highlanders in the place. Wade had marched about half way to Carlisle when he heard it was taken : as the weather and roads were so bad as almost to have ruined his army, and as, consequently, they were not in a condition to attempt retaking the city, it was thought proper to return to Newcastle, leaving the adventurers to get so far to the southward,

that it would have been absurd for Wade's people to attempt the overtaking them; therefore, the general remained in the north, in order to guard those parts, and prevent the prince from receiving supplies or reinforcements from thence, or out of Scotland.

And now the progress of Ascanius had thrown all England into confusion, and the Georgians began to dread his arrival at London, before another army could be formed in the southern and midland parts to impede his march, which was amazingly swift, all the country flying before him, none daring or caring to resist. However, the Duke of Cumberland, youngest son to the Georgian king, returning from Flanders where he commanded his father's troops, most of which returned with him, or were before arrived and put under Wade's command; this Prince, I say, returning from abroad, in order to lead the Georgian troops against Ascanius, his now successful rival in more respects than one. An army was formed with all expedition, and the Duke put himself at the head thereof resolving to wait the coming of Ascanius, and by one decisive stroke, determine the fate of the British Crown.

Meantime, the young Adventurer advanced with prodigious celerity, while the attention of both kingdoms was fixed on the expected approaching action. It was on the 20th that our Adventurer left Carlisle, from whence he proceeded to Lancaster, where he arrived the 24th; and on the 27th he was at Preston, and the 29th at Manchester. Till now the Prince had been joined by few of the English, and on this account the spirits of his faithful followers began to droop. "The English are degenerate," say they, "and lost to all sense of justice and gratitude: they are stupidly in love with their present government, bigotted to their new-fangled notions, and strangers to those noble sentiments of loyalty, which glowed in the breasts of their ancestors. In vain have we made this long fatiguing march, in vain doth the generous Ascanius invite the infatuated English to shake off the yoke of whiggism, to do justice to his Catholic family, themselves, and their posterity; in vain this glorious opportunity, if they refuse the proffered blessing, and choose to live in ease and indolence." In these terms were the complaints of the army couched; and Ascanius himself now began to see his error, in trusting to the accounts sent him while in Scotland, of the number and dis-

position of his partizans in the south ; nevertheless, he prudently tried to disguise his sentiments, and keep up the spirits of the people. " Who knows, said he, at a council of war held at Manchester, but all will yet happen for the best, and my greater glory ? I grant we have run ourselves into imminent danger ; or rather perhaps providence has brought us hither, to show what great things may be done for us. Victory doth not always declare for numbers. Few though we are, we have arms in our hands, and I hope every man here is satisfied as to the goodness of his cause. We found the English less than men at Glads-muir, and we shall not find them more than men in any field in England. Our friends, for ought we know, are, at this instant, striking a more effectual blow for us, than if they had joined us in person. Let us suspend our fears and our judgments as to our situation, until I have received fresh advice from London, for there, I hope, fortune is yet working for us."

Thus cheered the adventurers still went southward, until they came within the borders of Staffordshire, where the Duke lay with an army to intercept them : Wade was also marching after them through Yorkshire, intending to put them between two

fires. Thus was this little army encircled by the English, unable to proceed any way without meeting an army treble their number—for even yet they did not exceed 7400 men, not having being joined by more than 500 since their entering England.

I must not forget to mention, that in every city and market-town through which Ascanius passed, he took possession of it for his father, by proclaiming him; for instance, in Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Burton, Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton, the two last in Cheshire. At Congleton, finding his march southward absolutely stopped by the Duke, part of whose army lay at Newcastle, under line, within ten miles of Congleton, he resolved to turn off eastward to Leek in Staffordshire, and so through the Moorlands into Derbyshire, marching east by south till he got to Derby town, where he would be nearer London than the English. This resolution was the most prudent he could take, in the circumstances he was in; for it would have been madness to engage the English army, not only superior in number, but abounding in all necessaries; nor had they been harrassed by forced marches, as the troops of Ascanius were, who wanted necessary refreshment. On the other hand, had they gone back the way they came, that would have been at a and

to forfeit every opportunity of getting possession of the capital: had they turned westward, in order to take refuge in Wales, they would be never the nearer conquering England, and out of the way of seconding a French invasion, or a general rising of their friends in London: besides, had Ascanius attempted to pass into Wales, he might have been obstructed in his march through Cheshire, particularly by the garrison of Chester city, where, besides the militia, some new regiments were quartered.

December 2, Ascanius was at Leek in the moorlands of Staffordshire, next day at Ashburn, in the peak of Derbyshire, and on the 5th at Derby town. Meantime, the Duke finding the dexterous adventurers had given him the slip, crossed the country, expecting to intercept them in Lancashire or Northamptonshire; and this he had infallibly done, had not Ascanius perceived that still to go forward, would be obliging himself to risk a battle, under all the disadvantages above mentioned, or to surrender at discretion; he now saw, that the English were not to be depended on. Here he received advice from London, "That his friends there had not the power to rise in his favour, without desperately hazarding both his own ruin and that of his party in the kingdom; that there was no likelihood of a descent on France, all the southern coasts being

well guarded, as were the circumjacent seas, by the English fleet, for fear of whom the French durst not stir out."

Hereupon a council of war was called, at which the chiefs spoke very freely, and strenuously insisted on the army's returning to Scotland by the way he came; urging, that they might get through Derby and Stafford before the Duke, on the south side of them, could know they had begun to return; and that as Wade lay directly north from them, they doubted not of again giving him the slip, and reaching Carlisle before he could obstruct their flight.—To this advice Ascanius consented, still comforting himself with hopes, that Providence intended to work for him by some other means than those he yet thought of. However, the common soldiers, who had flattered themselves with the taking of London, were greatly chagrined at their disappointment, and would have severely revenged themselves on the people of Derby, and other towns through which they were to repass, had not Ascanius and his officers appeased them, and convinced them of the necessity of their returning, and of injuring the persons and properties of the English as little as their necessities would admit. Nevertheless, discovering that a subscription had been here set on foot by the English party, and already pretty full, the adventurers procured a copy of the subscription list and

made the town pay the money to them. They also obliged the people of Derby to furnish them with many necessaries at an easy price. But this proceeding, which Ascanius could not easily prevent, was, perhaps the principal reason of their being joined by only four or five in this county, one of whom was counsellor Morgan.

As a delay of a day or two, must have rendered the retreat of Ascanius impracticable, they staid at Derby but two nights. December 6—we find them again at Ashburn in the Peak. While Ascanius is thus giving the world as extraordinary a proof of his dexterity and skill in a retreat, as he had before of his courage and conduct in a battle, with one body of English foot hotly pursuing at his heels, and Oglethorpe with a body of horse on his right flying to intercept him, but in vain, though the general made a very swift march across the country—let us leave him on his march, and take a view of what his friends in Scotland were doing for him there.

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the duke of Gordon, who remained in Scotland to take care of Ascanius's interest while he was in England, was very active in raising men and money in the northern parts. His endeavours were greatly supported by the arrival of Fitz-james's regiment of horse from France, of which most of the men

were Irish and Scots, or descended from parents born in those kingdoms; these were commanded by Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, who joined Lord Lewis: their forces together made near 5000 men. With these troops the two Lords quartered themselves in and about Perth, at the same time that Ascanius set out on his return from Derby.

On the other hand, the Earl of Loudon was equally active in spiriting up the clans in the Georgian interest; he raised considerable supplies among the M'Leods, Grants, Monroes, Sutherlands, and Guns, and at last he had above 2300 effective men; with these he forced the son of Lord Lovat to retire from before Fort Augustus, which he had besieged with a considerable body of Frasers, a clan of which his father was chief. The city of Edinburgh, now again in the hands of the English, likewise exerted itself in raising men, as did also Glasgow, betwixt which two numerous regiments, and several independent companies were raised. Thus, whether in England or Scotland Ascanius was like to have enemies enough to deal with.

Let us now return into England, and follow Ascanius in his flight from Derby. December 7, he arrived at Leek in Staffordshire, and on the 9th at Manchester. Meantime the Duke of Cumberland having

intelligence that his enemies had begun to retreat northward, prepared to follow them with all expedition. Flying with a body of horse through the counties of Warwick and Stafford; on the 10th he arrived at Macclesfield in Cheshire, 1000 foot following him at no great distance; for the Duke's scheme was to get up to the adventurers with his horse, and retard their march until his infantry came up, and then endeavour to bring Ascanius to a general engagement: this however was what the latter prudently avoided, well knowing the difference betwixt the spirit of troops pursued in an enemy's country, and that of the pursuers. Besides perceiving that fortune inclined her face with a smile towards his Royal Highness, the brave and active Duke of Cumberland, the country people voluntarily supplied his army with horses, carriages, provisions, and all other necessities; while the adventurers could get nothing but what violence forced from the grumbling English, who took all methods to distress them.

Macclesfield, where, as we have observed, the English arrived on the 10th, is but a day's march from Manchester, from whence Ascanius marched that day, resting his troops there only one night; the fickle inhabitants, perceiving fortune seemed to frown upon the adventurers, whom they had joyfully received a few days before, now gave the

troops several rude marks of a very different spirit: this Ascanius so highly resented, that he made the people pay him £2500, to save them from being plundered before he left the town; however, in consideration of the many friends he still had there, he promised repayment when the kingdom should be recovered to his family, of which he did not despair.

On the 11th, the adventurers marched further northward, and came to Wigan, and next day to Preston. The Duke still followed at about a day's march, yet still he found it impossible to gain upon Ascanius, who felt it equally impracticable to out-strip his formidable rival in youthful vigour and vigilance. On the 13th, in the morning, Ascanius quitted Preston; which he had no sooner done, than Oglethorpe, with the horse and dragoons from Wade's army, arrived there; having in three days, marched above 100 miles, through ice, and over mountains covered with snow. And now the adventurers had certainly been forced to an action, had not the English friends in the south, luckily, at this critical juncture, done them some service. A report was successfully propagated, "That the French were landed in the south;" and this was so generally believed by the English, that an express was sent to inform the Duke thereof, whereupon he halted a day for further in-

formation, and sent word to Oglethorpe to discontinue the pursuit, and march towards his army. Still more happy had it been for Ascanius, if this report had been grounded on fact: but the seas were so well guarded by the English fleet, that though a stroug squadron of French men of war had been fitted out, with a great many transports, having a considerable body of forces on board, yet they durst not venture out of port. But the report was of great service to Ascanius; for had not the Duke and Oglethorpe been thus retarded, he would have been forced to halt; and though the General's troops were as much fatigued and disordered by their forced march as his, yet they would, at least, have been able to obstruct his retreat until the Duke came up, and then the action must have been decisive; for the harassed adventurers could have little hopes of victory over an army so much superior in all respects.

However, on the 14th, upon better information, the Duke ordered Oglethorpe to continue the pursuit, whilst himself followed as fast as possible. On the 15th Ascanius arrived at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and marched next day for Penrith, in Cumberland—the English followed with great celerity. On the 18th, the Duke, with the king's own regiment of dragoons, and Kingston's new raised light horse, came up with

the rear of the adventurers, after a fatiguing ten hour's march. Ascanius was then at Penrith, and knew not that his rear was in so much danger till it was over; for, on sight of the English, Lord George Murray, who commanded the rear, in conjunction with Lord Elcho, ordered his men to halt in a village called Clifton, and there receive their attack. Meantime, the Duke, whose capacity, as a soldier, all impartial persons must acknowledge to be consummate, made every necessary disposition for driving the adventurers from their post. The attack was resolutely made, and as resolutely opposed. The Highlanders being much sheltered by the walls and hedges, from behind which they fired with great security, lost very few men—nor had the assailants time to receive any great loss, night being so far advanced before the action was well begun, that it was soon ended. The adventurers, who must have been overpowered by numbers, had the action happened in the day, abandoned the village, continuing their retreat to Penrith, where they joined Ascanius before midnight. The darkness of the night added to the closeness of the country, which was extremely rough and covered with woodland, obliged the English to discontinue the pursuit till morning. Their loss in the action, was about twenty men and officers killed, and thirty wounded. Ascanius's

troops suffered no loss, only Captain George Hamilton of Colonel John Roy Stuart's regiment, was taken prisoner: he made a stout resistance, and killed two troopers with his own hand, but was at last dangerously wounded in the head and on the shoulder, by one of the Austrian hussars, who voluntarily served under the Duke.

Next morning Ascanius arrived at Carlisle, after a miserable march all night. The same morning also, the Duke marched for that city, and in his rout he gleaned up the stragglers, the weak, the weary, the sick, and the wounded adventurers, about 100 men, who were confined in the county jails.

The 20th, the English advanced to Hesket, within a short day's march of Carlisle. At the same time Ascanius left that city continuing his march for Scotland; he forded the river Esk, though at that time very much swollen, and many of his men were drowned: he was forced, against his will, to leave a small garrison at Carlisle, in order to stop the Duke, and prevent his pursuing him into Scotland, at least not so soon as to force him to an engagement, before he had got recruits of men, money, and spirits. It was with regret, I say, that he left any garrison in Carlisle, for he well knew, that they must be sacrificed to his convenience; but he was overpersuaded by Mr. Sullivan, who insisted that he ought to improve this

opportunity, and run the hazard of sacrificing a few of his followers to the safety of himself and all the rest, who had so cheerfully ventured their lives, and experienced so many hardships in their unfortuate expedition into England, particularly the Manchester regiment.

This small garrison, animated with a greater share of courage and fidelity to the cause they had embraced, than of prudence or human foresight, resolved obstinately to defend the city. They were encouraged by Mr. John Hamilton of Aberdeenshire, their governor, who represented unto them, "That it was both their duty, and the most honourable thing they could do, to defend the place to the last extremity. This place is, said he, both by art and nature, pretty strong, and we have artillery enough: the English have no cannon, nor can speedily bring any hither, so that we may doubtless hold out a month: meantime Ascanius will certainly do all in his power to relieve us—and who knows how far it may be yet in his power? Besides, the English may not, perhaps, when they see us resolute, stay to besiege us in form, but follow our friends into Scotland; in which case you may do Ascanius some service, by employing part of the enemy's troops to look after us, and thereby, in some measure, pave the way to his being a match for them in the field; whereas, at present, b—

is in danger of being overwhelmed by numbers."

On the 22d, the Duke's army entirely invested Carlisle, it being thought proper to reduce this important key of the kingdom before the army marched after Ascanius into Scotland. This step was disapproved of by many of the government's friends, who objected, "That the Duke's army was amusing itself with a trifling siege, while Ascanius was suffered to escape, and had time given him to strengthen himself by a junction of the several corps his friends had been raising for him in Scotland, during his excursion to the Southward." But these censures were doubtless unacquainted with the Duke's reasons for not immediately following his enemies out of England. They did not consider that he might, by the time he got to Carlisle, be convinced that he could never overtake or bring Ascanius to a battle, unless the latter pleased: that though he might again come up with his rear, it yet would be still as difficult to bring the main body into action; since, as before, the rear would cover the retreat of the rest; and further, it would be of little advantage to the English interest to harass and weaken their army, by forced marches and skirmishes with the adventurers, who might, at least, lead them into such a country as they would find it difficult to subsist in, and in the end, per-

haps, become the weaker party, and have their own retreat into England cut off.

As the army under the Duke was destitute of the artillery and ammunition proper for a siege, it sat still before the place till the 26th, when being amply provided with all things necessary, two batteries were raised, which played upon the city from the 28th to the 30th, in the morning, when the garrison, having no prospect of relief from their friends in Scotland, and fearing to be reduced by storm, hung out the white flag to capitulate: however, the best answer they could obtain was, that they should not be massacred, but reserved for the king's pleasure; which they were forced to accept, and the English took possession of the city the same day. In this affair, besides the men, they lost 16 pieces of ordnance, being all that Ascanius brought with him into England. Of this garrison many were tried and condemned, and some executed, particularly John Hamilton, Esq. the governor, besides Colonel Townley of the Manchester regiment.

The Duke had no sooner reduced this city, than he invested General Hawley with the chief command of the army, with orders to march into Scotland, and there make such opposition to the motions of Ascanius, as the future circumstances of affairs should direct: meanwhile, the Duke returned to

his father's court, there to concert measures for entirely completing the ruin of the adventurers.

Let us now follow the indefatigable Ascanius into Scotland, where we shall find him emerging from his late disgrace, and carrying his affairs to a higher pitch of prosperity than ever—but I know not if it be proper to look upon that as a disgrace, which was not the want of any vigilance or capacity in him, but of treachery or remissness, or want of sincerity in those who made great professions of zeal for his interest, and who, after having drawn him into a vain dependence upon them, remained idle spectators of the danger they had run him into.

December 22d, Ascanius, who had divided his forces on the borders of Scotland, marched with the largest body, about 4000 men to Dumfries, where he demanded of the inhabitants £2000 contribution money: of this £1100 was immediately paid, and hostages for the rest. From this he moved northward on the 23d, and the 25th arrived at Glasgow, choosing rather to take possession of that town, (of which he resolved to make another large contribution, for its active zeal against his party while he was in the south) than to attempt the recovery of Edinburgh, which the English had now put into a much better posture of defence than it was when he took it. Glasgow was also

the more obnoxious to him, as it had ever been distinguished for disaffection to his kingdom, particularly in the reigns of Charles and James II. and was considered as the principal fountain of whiggism in the north.

Accordingly, he quartered his troops for several days upon the inhabitants, and before he left the city, obliged them to furnish him with necessaries to the value of £10,000. And now it was that he formed a design of laying siege to Stirling, one of the strongest and most important places of Scotland. As all his forces would be wanted to carry on this siege, he dispatched letters to Lords Drummond and Gordon, the Master of Lovat, and other chiefs in the north, to advance with their troops, and meet him betwixt Perth and Stirling. These chiefs had with them a considerable treasure, which had been landed from on board some Spanish privateers; also some artillery, ammunition and other stores. Lord Gordon had likewise raised a vast sum of money in Scotland, part of which was voluntarily contributed, and the rest levied under pain of military execution: he and the other chiefs had also taken other vigorous methods for serving their party. The Hazard sloop of war, which the adventurers had taken from the English, they fitted out for their own service, as also a stout privateer at Montrose, and an armed sloop at Perth,

January 3d, 1745-6, Ascanius and the troops left Glasgow; and on the 5th having got the best of his forces together, he summoned the town of Stirling to surrender, but General Blackney, who commanded there for the king, gave him a flat denial, declaring, "He would sooner lose his life than betray the trust that was reposed in him." However, the town being of no great strength, though the castle is, the inhabitants, after some hours spent in treaty, obtained their own terms of surrender, and next morning the adventurers took possession; but the resolute old Blackney retired with his troops into the castle, determined to defend it to the last extremity. He was again summoned to surrender, but to as little purpose as before; and therefore Ascanius prepared to besiege it in form, with what artillery he had, which was insufficient for so considerable an undertaking.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant General Hawley, commander in chief of the English forces in Scotland, was assembling a strong, though not numerous army, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and having all things in order, he determined to march to the relief of Stirling castle: but first he detached Brigadier General Huske, who was next in command under Hawley, with part of the army, to dislodge the Earl of Kilmarnock from Falkirk, where he lay with the young Ad-

venturer's horse, and which not being of any use in a siege, he posted at this town, which lies on the direct road from Edinburgh to Stirling. On the first intelligence of Huske's approach, Kilmarnock retired to the rest of the army at Stirling, not having forces enough to engage the Brigadier General's troops; and thus the road being opened the whole English army marched to Falkirk, where Ascanius resolved to give them the meeting.

Ascanius's affairs not now in the same situation as when he was in England, encircled by the English, and without the least prospect of any reinforcements in case of a defeat—it was the highest prudence in him to avoid an engagement, and retire into Scotland, before his retreat was cut off: but now at the head of a body of resolute fellows, elate and re-animated by their successful retreat, the fresh troops which had joined them, and the absence of the Duke from the English army, of which he was the very life and soul, he had little to fear as to the event of an engagement: he doubted not of his troops in their own country, in which they had already been so successful, and in which he foresaw so many ways of retrieving the loss of a battle.

Hawley's design was to have attacked Ascanius, who, being sensible of the difference betwixt an army's attacking and being at-

tacked, and of the usual disadvantage in the latter case, resolved to give the English battle, without giving them time to choose the ground. This he did with great success, on the 17th in the afternoon. The field of battle was the moor of Falkirk, about a mile distant from that town. Ascanius was informed that the English (who had made great haste to gain the rising ground on which they were posted,) had left their cannon in their camp, and would find it very difficult to get any up the hill, therefore he resolved to attack them before they could get up their artillery.

The English army, though formed in a hurry, advanced in good order, the dragoons on the left, and the infantry in two lines. When the adverse parties came within little more than musket shot of each other, Hawley ordered the dragoons to fall on sword in hand, and the foot to advance, at the same time to give the adventurers a close fire. But before they could execute these directions, a smart fire from the latter put the dragoons into some disorder, and at the same time the English battalions, firing without orders, increased the confusion; and the dragoons falling in upon the foot, occasioned their making only one irregular fire before they began to retreat. Burrel's and Ligonier's regiments, however, were immediately rallied by Brigadier Cholmondely, and Colonel

Ligoniers. These troops made a brave stand, and repulsed the adventurers, who poured upon them very briskly. Mean time, General Huske, with great prudence and presence of mind, formed another body of foot in the rear of the above two regiments. General Mordaunt also rallied another corps of infantry; and, upon the whole, the English made a tolerable retreat to the camp at Falkirk.

This battle cannot properly be said to have been fought out; it had certainly been renewed, had not bad weather prevented it. The rain and wind were violent, and rendered the fire-arms of little use.

The English, wanting their artillery, had no arms to oppose to the broad swords of the Highlanders, except their bayonet. During the action, the artillery was drawn up the hill, but the owners of the draught horses seeing the army in disorder, rode away with the horses, so that none could be found to draw the useless cannon from the field; by which means the whole train (except one piece, which the grenadiers of Burrel's regiment yoked themselves to and carried off, and three others which the people of Falkirk furnished horses to draw away) fell into the hands of the adventurers.

The English at first (after quitting the field) determined to keep possession of their camp, and wait to see if Ascanius would attempt to

dislodge them ; but the rain coming heavy, the tents were so wet, and so much of their ammunition spoiled, that it was judged proper to order the troops to the town of Linlithgow that night, purely for the sake of shelter. Next day they continued their retreat, and in the evening took up their former retreat in and about Edinburgh, where they examined into their loss, and missed more officers in proportion than men. Thus far all the facts I have mentioned relating to the battle of Falkirk, are admitted by the English. Let us now consult the other party.

Narrative drawn up by Mr. Sheridan, and by him transmitted to the kings of France and Spain, the Pope, and other powers in alliance with the young Adventurer's family.

“After an easy victory, gained by 8,000 over 12,000, we remained masters of the field of battle ; but as it was near five o'clock before it ended, and as it required time for the Highlanders to recover their muskets, rejoin their colours, and form again in order, it was quite night before they could follow the fugitives.

“On the other hand we had no tents nor provisions ; and the rain fell, and the cold sharp wind blew with such violence, that we must have perished had we remained all night

on the field of battle; and as we could not return to our quarters without relinquishing the advantages of the victory, the Prince resolved, though without cannon or guides, and in extreme darkness, to attack the enemy in their camp, and the situation of it was very advantageous, and fortified by strong entrenchments. Their soldiers were seized with such a panic on our approach, that they durst not stay therein, but fled towards Edinburgh, having first set fire to their tents.

“ They had the start of us by an hour, and some troops which they left at Falkirk disputing our entrance, gained them another hour, so that our cavalry, being poorly mounted, could not come up with them. Hence it was that in a flight in which 5 or 6,000 prisoners might have been taken, we did not make above 500, only half of which were regular troops. They had 600 slain, two-thirds of which were horses and dragoons, but we know not exactly the number of their wounded. Our wounded were not above 150, and our slain only 43, officers included. We have taken 7 pieces of cannon, 3 mortars, 1 pair of kettle-drums, a pair of colours, 3 standards, 600 muskets, 4,000 weight of powder, a large quantity of grenadoes, 25 waggon loaded with all kinds of military stores, tents for 470 men, and all the baggage that escaped the flames. Among their officers that fell, were 5 colonels and lieutenant-colo-

nels, with all their chiefs of their Highlanders and militia. Our prince, who at the beginning of the action was conjured, for the love of his troops, not to expose himself, was in the second line of piquets; but as soon as the left wing was thrown into some disorder, he flew to their relief with an ardour that was not to be restrained. In the disposition of his troops, he followed the advice of Lord George Murray, who commanded the right wing, and fought on foot during the whole action at the head of his Highlanders.

“Lord John Drummond commanded the left, and distinguished himself extremely; he took two prisoners with his own hand, had his horse shot under him, and was wounded in the left arm with a musket ball. We should likewise do justice to the valour and prudence of several other officers, particularly Mr. Stapleton, brigadier in his Most Christian Majesty’s army, and commander of the Irish piquets; Mr. Sullivan, quartermaster general of the army, who rallied part of the left wing; and Mr. Brown, colonel of the guards, and one of the aid-de-camps, formerly of major-general Lalley’s regiment.”

Camp at Stirling, }
Jan. 31, 1745-6, N. S. }

On the 18th, the day after the battle, Ancanius marched his army back to Stirling;

and as he was satisfied that Hawley's design of relieving this fortress was disappointed, he again summoned Blackney, who answered, "That he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and he would die so."

Hereupon the besiegers erected new batteries to play upon the castle, and continued to ply with small arms, which did little mischief; but they suffered pretty much from the fire of the garrison. This made the Highlanders soon grow tired of the siege, and their uneasiness was greatly increased by a scarcity of provisions, which obliged Ascanius to send out parties on all sides of the country, to carry off what corn and meal they could find.

In this siege we shall at present leave the adventurers engaged, but without any progress, disappointed of the succours they expected from France and Spain, and very much perplexed to find means of subsisting their troops.

When the news of the battle of Falkirk reached London, the government thought it highly necessary to take more vigorous measures for defeating the designs of the once more formidable Ascanius, who was now more dreaded by the English than ever. The army in Scotland was so considerably reinforced as to free the English from their apprehensions of the further progress of the adventurers; but as an in-

vasion by the French and Spaniards was yet to be feared in England, it was judged unsafe to send many of its forces into Scotland. The Hessian troops in British pay, then lying in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, were ordered into the northern parts of Britain; some of them landed in the north of England, others in the south of Scotland, and immediately were assembled in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, under the Prince of Hesse, who had married a daughter of the King of England.

The troops under Hawley were extremely mortified at their late disgrace, and ardently wished for a speedy opportunity of retrieving their honour. In order to this, they were every day busied in preparations for marching to the relief of the gallant old Blackney, who still continued to defend Stirling castle with courage and constancy. In a few days the English army was in all respects in a better condition than before the action of Falkirk; and to animate the troops still more, January 30th, the young Duke arrived at Edinburgh. He was received by the army as its guardian angel, whose presence was a sure omen of victory; in short, his arrival banished all remembrance of the late disagreeable affair, and the soldiers expressed unusual ardour to be led against the enemy, bad as the weather still continued.

The active and indefatigable Duke reviewed the troops the day after his arrival at Edinburgh, and immediately marched them towards Stirling in two columns, consisting of 14 battalions, besides the Argyleshire Campbells, and Cobham's and Ker's dragoons. The first night, February 1st, eight battalions of this army took quarters at Linlithgow, where the Duke himself lay; brigadier Mordaunt, with six battalions, lay at Borrowstounness, the dragoons in the adjacent villages, and the Campbells took post in the front of the army towards Falkirk, where Ascanius had stationed a considerable body, who thought it convenient to retire upon the approach of the English, and marching back in the night to Torwood, they were met by a courier from Ascanius, with orders to halt there until morning, when he intended to join them with the rest of the army from Stirling, and to give the Duke battle.

Next morning the English continued their march, and the officers and soldiers eager to come to a fresh trial with the adventurers; but hardly had they arrived, when they received advice that the enemy, instead of preparing for battle, were repassing the Forth with great precipitation; and, to confirm this intelligence, they saw all the advanced guards retiring from their posts in great haste and confusion. This news was soon after put out of all doubt, by the noise of

two great reports like the blowing up of magazines. Hereupon the Duke ordered brigadier Mordaunt to put himself at the head of the Argyleshire troops and dragoons, and harass the adventurers in their retreat. Mordaunt began to execute this order with all alacrity and diligence imaginable, and arrived late in the evening at Stirling, where he took possession of the camp, which Ascanius and his troops had abandoned, with all their artillery. They had blown up St. Ninian's church, in which they had a great magazine of powder and ball; the noise of this explosion was what the Duke's army heard, as before-mentioned.

The adventurers had also left behind them all the wounded men they had made prisoners at the battle of Falkirk, together with nineteen of their own sick men.

As it was late when Mordaunt and his troops arrived at Stirling, and as the fugitives had broke down the bridge which crosses the river running by that town, it was judged unnecessary to continue the pursuit; accordingly the brigadier halted there till next day at noon, when the Duke, with the rest of the army, joined them. Having thus particularly related the motions of one party, let us return and take a view of what Ascanius had been doing, and attend to an explanation of his motives for, and the obligations he was under of quitting the camp at Stirling, and retiring to the Highlands.

On the approach of the English towards Falkirk, the adventurers quartered there retired to Torwood, as we have before observed; where Ascanius intended to join them in the morning, and fight the Duke. To this end he called a council of war, to whom he communicated his purpose, and it was approved by the officers and the chiefs of the clans. However, when the troops were ordered to march, the Lowlanders, struck with a sudden panic on the retreat of the detached corps at Falkirk to Torwood, and the approach of the Duke with an army treble their number, were found to be all in disorder and confusion, scattered about the fields, and, as it seemed, preparing rather to shift for themselves than to advance against the enemy. In vain did their leaders endeavour to re-inspire them with fresh courage, the dastardly Lowlanders were not to be reanimated; not even the presence of the undaunted Ascanius, who appeared among them, nor all his commands, entreaties, reproaches, exhortations, in the least availed. They attended to nothing but their unaccountable panic, and absolutely declared, they would not sacrifice themselves, nor madly throw away their lives, by engaging an enemy so vastly superior both in number and condition. Ascanius, seeing that it was in vain to waste his precious minutes on these troops, gave orders for their passing the Forth, and retiring

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little thought he should have been obliged to turn his back on the enemy so soon after the advantage he had gained at Falkirk,) gave orders that all the troops should quit the camp immediately, and follow the others that had marched to pass the Forth. This was done with all possible speed; for the consequence might have been fatal had they given the enemy time to come so nigh as to fall upon their rear, and interrupt their retreat. I shall now give the reader the particulars of Ascanius's return to the Highlands, and the Duke's march after him, in the form of a diary, or journal, that the future transactions of each party, every day, from this period to the decisive battle of Culloden, may be the more regularly exhibited, and more clearly comprehended by the reader.

February 2, 1746. Having broke down the bridge at Stirling, to retard the enemy's pursuit, the adventurers entirely quitted the neighbourhood of that town, separating themselves into different routs, though all led to the appointed general rendezvous in the Highlands. Part of them took the road by Tay-bridge, directly towards the mountains; Ascanius, with the rest, consisting of Lord Gordon's and Lord Ogilvie's men, the French troops, and what horse the adventurers had, got to Perth the same evening.

The same day the Duke entered Stirling, where he received the compliments of Gene-

towards Perth, while he, with his trusty Highlanders, would abide the coming of the enemy, and defend their camp to the last man, choosing rather to die on the spot than join in the ignominious flight of his troops.

As for the Highlanders, they were resolved to stand by him at all hazards, and to share in his fate, let it prove ever so desperate; however, a fresh council of war being held, the chiefs endeavoured to moderate the extreme ardour and forlorn resolution of the less-experienced Ascanius, beseeching him not to hazard his *all* upon one desperate engagement.

Among others, the Duke of Perth strenuously opposed coming to action with the Duke, until their circumstances should become more favourable, and until they should have a better prospect of victory. In fine, it was at last thought expedient to decline the battle for the present, and to march the whole army into the Highlands, where it was not in the least to be doubted but they should raise many recruits, and, in the end, either be able fairly to beat the English in a pitched battle, or to harass and ruin them by terrible marches, fatigues, the badness of the country, and the rigour of the season, none of which they were so able to endure as the hardy natives.

In consequence of the above resolution, Ascanius, with a sorrowful heart, (for he

little thought he should have been obliged to turn his back on the enemy so soon after the advantage he had gained at Falkirk,) gave orders that all the troops should quit the camp immediately, and follow the others that had marched to pass the Forth. This was done with all possible speed; for the consequence might have been fatal had they given the enemy time to come so nigh as to fall upon their rear, and interrupt their retreat. I shall now give the reader the particulars of Ascanius's return to the Highlands, and the Duke's march after him, in the form of a diary, or journal, that the future transactions of each party, every day, from this period to the decisive battle of Culloden, may be the more regularly exhibited, and more clearly comprehended by the reader.

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The same day the Duke entered Stirling, where he received the compliments of Gene-

ral Blackney and the officers of the garrison on this memorable occasion ; while the young Prince was pleased to testify his extreme satisfaction with regard to the good defence the General had made, by which a place of so much importance had been preserved, and the designs of his dangerous rival, Ascanius, defeated. Meanwhile, pursuant to the Duke's orders, many hands were employed in repairing the bridge, it being intended to march the army over it, and follow the fugitives into the mountains.

On the 3d, in the morning, Ascanius and his people quitted Perth, and marched northwards ; Lord John Drummond, with the remains of the Scottish and Irish troops, which he had brought from France, made directly for Montrose. The adventurers left behind them at Perth 13 pieces of iron cannon nailed up ; and they flung a great quantity of ammunition into the river, with 14 swivel guns, which they had taken out of the Hazard sloop.

February 4. The bridge being repaired, the army passed over, and the advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire Highlanders and the dragoons, marched that night as far as Crieff, but the foot were cantoned in and about Dumblain, where the Duke took up his quarters that evening.

Next day the Duke's advanced guards took possession of Perth. Meanwhile, the ad-

venturers continued their retreat northward, in which we will leave them for a while, and make a short reflection on one of the most surprising instances of the great effects of a General's reputation that any history hath ever exhibited.—In the space of a single week, the Duke of Cumberland posted from his father's court, travelled about 300 miles in the midst of winter, put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, and saw his enemies flying before him with precipitation—those very enemies who, in his absence, despised those troops by whom they were now pursued, were grown terrible to the flyers, chiefly on account of only one single person's having resumed the command of them. Should the Duke's best friends endeavour to heighten this event by any strains of compliment or panegyric, they would only obscure it—the bare recital of fact is the noblest eulogium.

Ascanius was very sensible how much the news of his retreat would alarm his friends both at home and abroad; therefore he caused several printed papers to be dispersed, setting forth his reasons for taking this step; besides those already mentioned, the following were assigned, viz.;—That as his men, particularly the Highlanders, were loaded with the booty they had collected in England and Scotland, it was very proper to let them convey it home, where it might be

lodged in safety ; and further, that this would secure to them an acquired property, for which they would, doubtless, fight valiantly to the last, and be induced to stand by the Prince, not only on his account, but also on their own ; and, after so fatiguing a campaign, to allow his troops some relaxation ; after which, when well refreshed and recruited, they would not fail to make another irruption into the Lowlands next spring.

Ascanius had also other reasons, which he did not think proper publicly to divulge ; he judged that by removing the war into the Highlands, and by spreading reports of the severities of the enemy's troops, his men would be the better kept together, which he now found difficult to do, and would also contribute to increase the number of his followers. He also judged that this would furnish his friends in France and Spain with an opportunity to attempt an invasion in the south, which would be a means to free him from all his difficulties. He had also a great desire to make himself master of the fortifications which run along the north of Scotland, viz. Fort-William. Fort-Augustus, and Fort-George, the last being the castle of Inverness. By taking these places he would be able to secure the country behind him, and thereby afford means for his friends abroad to land the reinforcements, of which he had received large promises.

But the Duke, who had intelligence of all the enemy's motions, from the spies he had among them, easily penetrated all their views, and took the most proper measures for defeating them. He marched the army by different roads to Aberdeen, where he resolved to fix his head quarters, raise magazines, and receive such succours and supplies as should come by sea from England. Nor were the adventurers able to surprize any of these separate corps, each detachment being able to make a stout resistance in case of an attack.

He stationed the Hessian troops, and some corps of English, at the castles of Blair and Menzes, at Perth, Dunkeld, and other places, by which he secured the passage into the Lowlands, and put it out of the power of the adventurers to return that way into the south. The Argyleshire men, under their warlike leader, General Campbell, undertook the defence of Fort-William, a place at that time of infinite importance, as it secured another passage through the west of Scotland, by which Ascanius could have made his way into England a second time.

Having taken these precautions, the Duke set out for Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 28th of February. The necessary dispositions being made, the Georgian generals judged it necessary to make examples of some who had heretofore misbehaved: in order to which a court-martial was held at

Montrose, by which Captain ****, in the artillery, who had deserted the train in the action at Falkirk, was sentenced to have his sword broke over his head by the provost, his sash thrown on the ground, and himself turned out of the army—and this was executed at the head of the artillery ! A Lieutenant, in Fleming's regiment, was broke for disobeying orders, and prevaricating before a court-martial on account of plundering Mr Oliphant's house of Gask, a zealous adventurer, and who was at that time with Ascanius in the mountains. From this, and other instances produced, all impartial men must own, that the burnings, plunderings, and devastations, of the houses and estates of the adventurers, whereof the king's troops have been accused, were not connived at, nor permitted with so much impunity, as reported by some over zealous people. Let us now return to Ascanius, who made it his first care to become master of Inverness.

Lord Loudon was then there, with about 1600 of the new raised men before mentioned. With these he marched out to fight the adventurers ; but upon their approach, finding them much stronger than he expected, he retreated, and abandoned the town of Inverness without the loss of a man, leaving Major Grant, with two independent companies, in the castle, with orders to defend it to the last extremity.

These orders were, however, but indifferently obeyed; for Ascanius no sooner appeared before the place, than the hearts of the garrison began to fail, and after a very short siege, he became Master of the town and castle, where he fixed his head quarters.

Besides the 4000 troops which now lay at Inverness, Ascanius had several detached parties abroad, and some of these falling upon small corps of the Duke's Highlanders, stationed about the castle of Blair, defeated them. These successes raised the spirits of the whole party of adventurers, notwithstanding the badness of the quarters, want of pay, scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniencies.

And now, in spite of all the difficulties Ascanius lay under, he resolved to prosecute his design upon Fort-Augustus and Fort William; the former of these was accordingly attacked, in which was only three companies of Guise's regiment, commanded by Major Wentworth, so that it was speedily reduced and demolished; which was the fate that Fort-George (the castle of Inverness) had already met with; a clear demonstration that Ascanius did not think it necessary to have a garrison in that part of the country. But being still incommoded by by Lord Loudon, who lay at the back of the adventurers, with only the Frith of Moray between them, the Duke of Perth,

the Earl of Cromarty, and some other chiefs, resolved to attempt the surprising of Loudon, by the help of boats, which they drew together on their side of the Frith. By favour of a fog they executed their designs so effectually, that, falling unexpectedly upon the Earl's forces, they cut them off, made a good many of the officers prisoners, and forced Loudon to retire with the rest out of the county of Sutherland:

But though these advantages made much noise, and greatly contributed to keep up the spirits of Ascanius's party, yet in the end they proved but of little service to him. Money now was scarce with him, and supplies both at home and abroad fell short of his expectation; and his people began to grumble for their pay, and demanded their arrears, which could not be speedily satisfied—a sure presage of the ruin of his whole party.

Let us now return to the Duke, and see what he has been doing since we conducted him to Aberdeen. Though the rigour of the season, the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of supporting so many men as he had under his command, were sufficient to exercise the abilities of the most experienced general, yet the Duke disposed them in such a manner as proved effectual, both for safety and subsistence, and at the same time took care to distress the adver-

turers as much as possible ; for the very day after he came to Aberdeen, he detached the Earl of Ancrum with 100 dragoons, and Major Morris with 300 foot, to the castle of Corgarf, at the head of the river Don, 40 miles from Aberdeen, and in the heart of the country then possessed by the adventurers, and wherein they had a large magazine of arms and ammunition, which the Earl had orders to seize or destroy. This was executed with great facility ; for, upon his Lordship's approach, the garrison abandoned the place with precipitation, not taking time to carry off their stores. However for want of horses, he could not carry off all the booty, and was forced to destroy most of the arms, and above 30 barrels of powder.

March 16th—The Duke received advice, that Colenel Roy Stuart, of the chiefs of the adventurers, had posted himself at Strathbogie, with one thousand foot, and a troop of hussars. Hereupon Lieutenant General Bland was sent with a strong detachment, to attack him, and Brigadier General Mordaunt was ordered after him with another party, to support Bland, if occasion should be. The next day Bland arrived at Strathbogie ; but as soon as Stuart perceived the enemy, he quitted the place, and retired towards Keith. Though the weather was wet and hazy, yet the Marquis

of Granby, Conway, and Captain Holden, with the volunteers, continued the pursuit. But fortune, though she had thus far seemed to favour these gentlemen, played them a slippery trick at last; for Bland detached a captain of Argyleshire Campbells, with 70 of his men, and 30 of Kingston's horse, to clear the village of Keith, and then rejoin the army; they, contrary to these directions, ventured to quarter in the place that night. This gave the adventurers an opportunity to surprise the Captain and his party, which they improved; for, returning to Keith in the night, they surrounded it, entered it at both ends, and furiously attacked the Argyleshire-men, who defended themselves with great resolution, but were at last most of them cut to pieces: however, they sold their lives very dear. The Duke of Kingston's horse did not come off much better, the cornet who commanded them escaping with only one third of his men. But this accident made the Duke's people more circumspect for the future, and nothing of that kind happened afterwards. Indeed the dispositions made by the Duke, put all attempts of that sort out of the power of Ascanius, who watched for such opportunities, and had they occurred he would doubtless have improved them to the utmost; though at that time unable to encounter the Georgians in the open field, had the adventurers found

means to surprise them, they might have ended the dispute at one blow, and Ascanius had perhaps been enabled to make a second and more successful expedition into England.

The Duke's army was cantoned in three divisions. The first line consisting of six battalions, Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons, lay at Strathbogie, within eleven miles of the river Spey, and was commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, assisted by Major General Bland. The second line, consisting of six battalions, and Lord Mark Ker's dragoons, lay at Aberdeen; and the third line, or corps of reserve, consisting of three battalions with four pieces of cannon, was stationed at Old Meldrum, half way betwixt Strathbogie and Aberdeen.

Brigadier Stapleton, of his Most Christian Majesty's forces, was sent by Ascanius to besiege Fort-William; he had with him a large corps of the best adventurers, and a pretty good train of Artillery, and arrived at Glenavis, in the neighbourhood of this fortress, March 3d. About this time, his detachment took a boat belonging to the Baltimore sloop, Captain Howe, employed in the service of the garrison at Fort-William. On the other hand Captain Askew, of the Serpent sloop, sent his own boat, with another of Baltimore's, and a third that belonged to the garrison, and forced

Stapleton's people from the narrows of Carron, where they were posted, and made themselves masters of all the boats they had in these parts; this was on March 4th, and proved a most important and well-timed piece of service to the government.

As the siege of Fort-William was the only regular operation of that kind which happened in the continuance of this civil war, a journal of it as drawn up by an officer employed in the siege, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

JOURNAL

OF THE

SIEGE OF FORT-WILLIAM.

MARCH 14th—The adventurers continuing in the neighbourhood of Fort-William, and the garrison at last perceiving that they were to undergo a siege, began to heighten the parapets of their walls on the side where they apprehended the attack would be made. This work lasted a whole week, and the two faces of the bastions were raised seven feet high.

15th—A detachment of the garrison, with some men belonging to the sloops of war before-mentioned, went in armed boats to

attempt the destroying of Kilmady Barns, commonly called the Corpoch. Stapleton having notice of their motions, and suspecting their intention, sent out a strong party to frustrate it; however the falling of the tide contributed as much as any thing to the miscarriage of this scheme. Some firing indeed passed upon both sides, but little damage was done on either. On the side of the garrison a sailor was killed, and three men were wounded; the adventurers had five men wounded, four of them mortally.

18th—The Baltimore went up towards Kilmady Barns, in order to cover the landing of some men, for a fresh attempt upon the place. They threw some cohorn shells, and set one hovel on fire; but the king's party were, nevertheless, prevented from landing, the adventurer's party firing upon them, with great advantage, from behind the natural intrenchments of a hollow road or till. The Baltimore's guns being only 4 pounders, had no effect upon the stone walls of the Corpoch; however, the sloop and the king's forces retired without any damage. On the side of the adventurers, one of their principal engineers was killed, but no other hurt. This day three centinels, and a drummer of Guise's regiment, who had been taken at Fort-Augustus, made their escape from the Highlanders, and got safe into Fort-William.

On the 20th several parties of the garrison being appointed to protect their turf-diggers, frequent skirmishes happened between them and Stapleton's people; but as both parties skulked behind craigs and rocks, so neither received any damage.

The same evening the adventurers opened the siege, discharging at the fort, 17 royals, or small bombs, of 5 inches and a half diameter, weighing about 16 or 18 pounds each, and loaded with 14 ounces of powder: these were played off from a battery erected on a small hill, named the Sugar-loaf, about 800 yards off; which, being at too great a distance, the ordnance did little execution, the most of them falling short. On the other hand, the garrison answered the besiegers, with 8 bombs, 18 inches diameter, 6 cohorns, one 12 pounder, and 2 swivels.

21st—The adventurers finding that their batteries were too far off, erected a new one at the foot of the Cow-hill, about 400 yards off, from which, between 12 and 4 in the morning, they discharged 84 of their royals, which did little damage, except penetrating through the roofs of several houses, and slightly wounding three men. The garrison this day answered the besiegers with 20 bombs, 9 cohorns, 36 pounders, and 2 swivels.

22d—The besiegers opened their battery of cannon, from Sugar-loaf hill, consisting

only of three guns, 6 and 4 pounders, but discharged only 7 times, and that without doing any damage. About 12 o'clock the same day, General Stapleton sent a French drum to the fort, upon whose approach, and beating a parley, Captain Scott commander of the garrison, asked him what he came about ; the drummer answered, that General Stapleton, who commanded the siege, by directions from Ascanius, had sent a letter to the commanding officer of the garrison, requiring him to surrender. To this Capt. Scott replied, " I will receive no letters from rebels, and am determined to defend the Fort to the last extremity." The drummer returning to Stapleton, with this answer, a close bombarding ensued on both sides for some hours ; but at last the garrison silenced the besiegers, by beating down their principal battery. However, about ten that night, they opened another bomb-battery, near the bottom of the Cow-hill, about 300 yards off, from which, and from their battery upon Sugar-loaf hill, they discharged, before 3 in the morning, 194 of their royals, and 6 cannon against the Fort ; but all this without doing any other mischief than the demolition of the roofs of a few houses. The garrison did not return them one shell, but kept all their men within doors ; except the piquet to stand by the fire-engine, the governor and the most of the officers being upon the ramparts.

23d—As soon as day-light appeared, the garrison fired 23 bombs, 2 cohorns, 2 twelve pounders, 7 six pounders, and 6 swivels at the besiegers' batteries, some of which tore up their platforms. The adventurers, in return, fired as briskly as they were able, up to the Fort, but it did the besieged no other damage than shooting off the leg of a private soldier.

The same day, about three in the afternoon, some vessels appeared with supplies for the besieged, who, on sight of the ships, all at once discharged 8 twelve pounders, 2 six pounders, 2 bombs, and some cohorns against the besiegers' batteries, which were so well levelled as to do great execution against, and occasioned much confusion among, the adventurers, who, besides the damage done their batteries, had several men killed, and many wounded: however, to cheer the men, the officers gave out, that they would certainly burn the Fort within four hours after their next new battery was erected; and accordingly, all this evening the people were employed in erecting another work or battery, under cover of their cannon, and at the distance of 300 yards, at the foot of the Cow-hill.

24th—Neither party fired much, and the garrison employed most part of the day in getting their supplies of provisions on shore.

25th—At day-break, Captain Scott sent out a party, to a place about six miles off, to bring in some cattle. The adventurers fired very briskly this morning, and the garrison plied them a little with their mortars and guns. About three in the afternoon, the afore-mentioned party returned with nineteen good bullocks and cows. The same evening, another detachment went from the Fort, for another prize of bullocks with orders to pass the narrows of Carron, and get off all they could from the adjacent estates of the adventurers.

26th—The garrison fired slowly at the besiegers' batteries on the hills; and, as the latter only fired from two; the former perceived that they had dismounted the third. In the afternoon, the last mentioned party returned with a booty of black cattle and sheep, from the country near Ardshiels; they also brought in four prisoners, one of whom was dangerously wounded; they had likewise burned two villages belonging to one of the chiefs of the adventurers, with the whole estate of the unfortunate Appin.

The same night Captain Scott went out and dammed up some drains near the walls of the fort, in hopes of rainy weather, to make a small inundation; and with some prisoners raised the glacis, or rather parapet, to 7 feet. For want of pallasades, the garrison could not make a right covered way;

but then this might hinder the besiegers from seeing the foot of the wall.

27th. At day-break the adventurers opened their new battery of four embrasures, but only with 3 guns, 6 pounders, with which, however, they fired very briskly; but the garrison plying them with their mortars and guns, silenced one of the besiegers' guns before 8 in the morning. About 9 the magazine battery of the besiegers was set on fire, and it blew up. This day the garrison received no other damage than the wounding of two men and the governor's horse in the stable. The adventurers had three men killed, and nine dangerously wounded.

31st. Captain Scott ordered twelve men from each company to march out to the craigs, about 100 yards from the walls, where the adventurers had a battery; which, after some dispute, and the loss of a serjeant of the Argyleshire Highlanders, the men from the garrison made themselves masters of.—The victors brought off from this battery, 3 brass field pieces, 4 pounders, and 2 cohorns, from which the besiegers threw their shells; also, another brass cannon, 6 pounder, which being too heavy to draw in, they spiked and left under the wall, whence they afterwards dismounted it by cannon shot. The other large cannon and mortars, on that battery, they likewise spiked and left there, and brought away two prisoners. The adventu-

ers, however, still continued with 5 cannon they had yet mounted, to give the garrison all the disturbance in their power, and destroyed the roofs of most of the houses; but they did not mind that, the men being safe.

April 3d. The adventurers received orders from Ascanius to quit the siege immediately, and to join him at Inverness with all possible speed. Hereupon General Stapleton retired from the place with the utmost precipitation, and repaired to Inverness.

As soon as Captain Scott perceived they had turned their backs on the fort, he detached a party which secured 8 pieces of cannon and 7 mortars, the adventurers not having time to carry off such cumbersome moveables. The miscarriage of this enterprize may be considered as the immediate prelude to the many disasters which afterwards befel the adventurers, one misfortune immediately following upon the heels of another, till their affairs became quite desperate, and their force entirely crushed by the decisive action of Culloden.

The reason of this sudden and hasty retreat of the adventurers from before Fort-William, was the necessity Ascanius was under of drawing together all his forces in the neighbourhood of Inverness, upon the approach of the Duke of Cumberland with his army. But before we come to treat of the measures taken by the adventurers after the

raising of the siege, it is requisite that we give some account of another misfortune that befel them, which was no less fatal in its consequences.

We have already observed, that they were in great distress for money and other necessaries, and waited impatiently for a supply from France, which they hoped (notwithstanding the miscarriage of so many vessels that had been fitted out for Scotland) would soon arrive on board the Hazard sloop, which they had named the Prince Charles Snow, and which they had intelligence was at sea with a considerable quantity of treasure from France, and a number of experienced officers and engineers, who were very much wanted.

March 25th. This long looked for vessel arrived in Tongue Bay, into which she was followed by the Sheerness Sloop of war, Captain O'Brian, who immediately attacked her. In the engagement the Hazard had many men killed, and not a few wounded; so that, unable to maintain the fight, she ran ashore on the shallows, where the Sheerness could not follow her, and there landed her men and money. The place on which she ran ashore, after being chased fifty leagues, was in the Lord Rea's country, and it happened there were then in his lordship's house his son Captain Mackay, Sir Henry Monroe, Lord Charles Gordon, Captain M'Leod, and

about of 80 of Lord Loudon's men, who had retired thither when the adventurers under the Duke of Perth and the Earl of Cromarty had attacked them by boats, as hath been before related. These gentlemen, having animated the soldiers, advanced against the people who had landed from the Hazard, and though the latter were superior in number, gained a complete victory, without much bloodshed on either side; for not much above four men of the adventurers fell, and not one of the other party, though many were wounded. Besides five chests of money, and a considerable quantity of arms, the victors took 156 officers, soldiers, and sailors, prisoners, with whom they embarked on board the Sheerness, and sailed directly for Aberdeen, in company with another prize which Captain O'Brian had taken in the Orkneys. The money, exclusive of one chest which was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broken, amounted to 12,500 guineas; and amongst the prisoners were 41 experienced officers, who had been long either in the French or Spanish service.

At the same time that Ascanius employed so many of his forces attacking Fort-William, he sent another body, commanded by Lord George Murray, to make a little attempt upon the castle of Blair, the principal seat of the Duke of Athol, but of no great force, and in wick there was only a small

garrison, under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew; which siege, or rather blockade, Lord George raised with the same hurry on the approach of the Earl of Crawford with a party of English and Hessians, as Stapleton did that of Fort-William, upon the very same day, and from the very same motives.

Having thus in as clear and succinct a manner as possible, run through all the operations of the adventurers, and shown how their several bodies were drawn off, in order to join the corps under Ascanius at Inverness, and enable him to make a stand there, in case the Duke of Cumberland should pay him a visit on that side of the spey: let us now return to the latter whom we left properly disposed to march, as soon as the season and roads would permit, in hopes of putting an end to all the future hopes of Ascanius, by one general and decisive action.

The Duke's troops, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the fatigues they had endured, by making a double campaign, were, at the beginning of April, so well refreshed, and in such excellent order, that they were, in all respects, fit for service; and so far from apprehending anything from the impetuosity of the Highland adventurers, or to the advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid river, that they show-

ed the greatest eagerness to enter upon action. But, though the Duke encouraged, and took every possible measure to keep up this ardour in his army, yet he acted with great deliberation, and did not move till the weather was settled, when there was no danger that the cavalay should suffer for want of forage.

At length, (April 8th) the Georgian army moved from Aberdeen, and encamped on the 11th at Culloden, where the Earl of Albemarle joined them. Here, all the troops being assembled, the Duke gave orders for their immediately passing the river Spey. Meantime, Ascanius was continually busied in a council of war, which was held day and night, and in which it was debated, whether or not they should suffer the Georgians to pass the river, and then to come to action; or whether they should defend the banks in order to gain time, by obliging the Duke to remain on the other side. Ascanius with the warmth of a young general, argued for the latter measure; but most of the other chiefs were of opinion, that it would be less hazardous to adhere to the first. The old Duke of Athol, alias, the Marquis of Tullibardine, with great coolness and judgment, advised to give the enemy a free passage, if it should prove that they really were determined to attempt it. "They are, said he, well provided with cannon and engineers,

both of which we are in great want. Consequently they have it in their power to cover the passage of their troops, and mow down whole ranks on the opposite shore, while we are destitute of the like means for opposing them with any prospect of success; and what other means can we trust to? to our swords and small fire-arms we cannot, for their cannon will not suffer us to come within musket-shot of the river. In short, I believe, no gentleman here, can, after mature consideration, reasonably hope for success by attempting to hinder the enemy's passage. If we do attempt to hinder them and prove unable, we are ruined inevitably; it will be impossible to rally and bring our men to renew the conflict, after our enemies have got ample footing on this side the river. And, on the other hand, will it not, at the same time, be too late to make any other retreat than a mere flight for our lives? and after such flight, can we ever hope to face the enemy again? But if we remain here and suffer the enemy to pass over to us, we have a fairer chance; we shall then have time enough to get ready for a regular action, or a regular retreat, according as circumstances occur. If we fight, we have the same advantage that we had at Gladsmuir and Falkirk; if we retreat, we may take our time, and, having a sufficient distance betwixt us and the enemy, may march off

either in the day or night, and shall have leisure enough to cover our rear. I said, we have the same advantage as we had at Falkirk and Gladsmuir; and I may further add, that we have also a chance which cannot turn out to our disadvantage, and may prove of infinite service to us; if we come to action with the enemy, after they are entirely on this side the Spey, and gain an entire victory over them, we may possibly cut them entirely off, before they can find means to repass the river: In this case, their force in Scotland will be absolutely ruined, we shall carry all before us in this kingdom, and perhaps none on this side shall be able to stop our progress—one lucky battle may yet put us in possession of the capital.”

The noble old Lord pronounced the latter part of his speech with so warm an emphasis, as produced a great effect on the young officers, and even upon Ascanius; and after a long debate, it was resolved to follow the Marquis' advice, and suffer the enemy to pass the river without opposition; in the meantime, Ascanius prepared to attack the Duke. Nor was he disheartened by his enemy's superior numbers, whom, however, he did not despise, though he had already twice vanquished them; and much less did he despise the known valour and capacity of the Duke, aspiring to no great-

er honor than the vanquishing of so noble an enemy.

Early in the morning of April 12th, 15 companies of English grenadiers, the Argyleshire and other Highlanders of that party, and all the Duke's cavalry advanced towards the Spey, under the conduct of the Duke assisted by Major General Husk. They no sooner arrived on the banks of the river, than the cavalry began to pass it, under cover of two pieces of cannon. Mean time, about 2000 adventurers, who had been posted near to this part of the river, retired as the enemy passed over; and thereupon Ascanius began to call in his out-parties, as was before related.

Kingston's horse were the first that forded the river, sustained by the grenadiers and highlanders; the foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and though the water was rapid, and some places so deep that it came up to their breasts, they went through with cheerfulness, and without any other loss than one dragoon and four women. The Duke's army marched to Elgin and Forres the same day, and from thence to Nairn, where they halted on the 15th. Meantime, Ascanius was busied in preparing to attack the enemy, in encouraging his troops, and collecting his men, which, however, he had not time to do, and some of the clans did not arrive till it was too late; in short, his

army, at this time, did not amount to more than 7000 men, so that it was no extraordinary thing for the Georgians, much superior in number, to defeat them, when animated and inspired by the presence and noble example of so gallant a general as the Duke.

The memorable battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th of April, 1746. Ascanius had formed a design of surprising his enemies on the 15th, while they were at Nairn, but was prevented by the vigilance and strict discipline of the Duke. The scene of battle was a moor not far from Inverness, and near Lord President Forbes' house, called Culloden-house, and from which the battle took its name. We have had several accounts of this important action, but the clearest, as well as the most authentic, is that dispatched by the Duke of Cumberland to the king, his father, dated Inverness, April 18th, and to this, I think, it is best to adhere. Neither Ascanius, nor any one of his party, had an opportunity after the fight, during his stay in Scotland, to draw up an account of it; nor has he or his friends thought proper to give the world this satisfaction, though frequently solicited, at the court of Versailles, to give a more succinct account of that day's action.

Account of the BATTLE OF CULLODEN, drawn up by order of his Royal Highness the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

“ WE gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched, between four and five, in four columns. The three lines of foot, reckoning the reserve for one, were broken into three from the right, which made three columns equal, and each of five battalions. The artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right, and the cavalry made the fourth on the left.

“ After we had marched about eight miles, our advanced guard, composed of about 40 of Kingston's horse, and the highlanders, led on by the Quarter-master-general, observed the rebels at some distance making a motion towards us on the left, upon which we immediately formed; but finding they were still a good way from us, and that the whole body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our march in our former posture, and continued it till within a mile of them, when we formed again in the same order as before. After reconnoitring their situation, we found them posted behind some old walls and huts in a line with Culloden-house.

“ As we thought our right entirely secure, General Hawley, and General Bland went

to the left with two regiments of dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right flank of the enemy, and Kingston's horse were ordered to the reserve. Ten pieces of cannon were disposed, two in each of the intervals of the first line, all our Highlanders (except about 140, which were upon the left with General Hawley and behaved remarkably well) were left to guard the baggage.

"When we were advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, we found the morass upon our right was ended, which left our right flank quite uncovered to them. His Royal Highness thereupon ordered the Duke of Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a little squadron of about 60 of Cobham's horse, that had been patrolling, to cover our flank; and Pulteney's regiment was also ordered from the reserve, to the right of the Royals.

"We spent about half an hour after that, in trying which should gain the flank of the other; and, in the mean time, his Royal Highness sent Lord Bury, son to the Earl of Albemarle, forward, to within 100 yards of the enemy, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared to us like a battery. On Lord Bury's approach, the enemy immediately began firing their cannon, which was extremely ill served and ill pointed. Ours as immediately answered them, and with great success, which began their confusion.

They then came running on in their wild manner; and upon the right where his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest push would be made there, they came down three several times within 100 yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords, but the Royals and Pulteney's hardly took their firelocks from their shoulders each time before the enemy retreated, abashed at the havoc made among them by the fire-arms of the English; so that, after these faint attempts, they made off, and the little squadron on our right was sent to pursue them.

"Meantime, General Hawley had by the help of our Highlanders, beat down two little stone walls, and came in upon the right flank of the enemy's line.

"As their whole first line came down to attack all at once, their right somewhat out flanked Burrel's regiment, which was our left, and the greatest part of the little loss we sustained was there; but Bligh's and Sempill's giving a smart fire upon those who had out-flanked Burrel's, soon repulsed them, and Burrel's regiment, and the left of Monroe's fairly beat them with their bayonets; there was scarce a soldier or officers of Burrel's, or that part of Monroe's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each, with their bayonets and spontoons.

“The cavalry, which had charged from the right and left, met in the centre, except two squadrons of dragoons which we missed, and they were gone in pursuit of the runaways. Lord Ancram was ordered to pursue with the horse as far as he could; and he did it with so good effect, that a very considerable number were killed in the pursuit.

“As we were on our march to Invesness, and we were near arrived there, Major General Bland sent a small packet to his Royal Highness, containing the terms of surrender of the French officers and soldiers whom he found there; which terms were no other than to remain prisoners of war at discretion. Major General Bland had also made great slaughter, and had taken about 50 French officers and soldiers in the pursuit. By the best calculation that can be yet made, it is thought the rebels lost 2000 men upon the field of battle and in the pursuit.”

I HAVE omitted the lists annexed to the above account, as well for the sake of brevity as because they could not be exact at that time, but were afterwards much enlarged. Among the French prisoners were Brigadier Stapleton, and Marquis de Giles, who acted as ambassador from the most Christian King to Ascanius, Lord Lewis Drummond, and

above 40 officers more, who all remained prisoners at large in the town of Inverness, upon their parole of honor.

The loss on the side of the victors was but inconsiderable: the only persons of note killed, were, Lord Robert Kerr, Captain in Burrell's regiment; Captain Grossef, of Price's; Captain John Campbell, of the Argyleshire militia; besides these about 50 private men were killed, and 240 wounded.

The number of prisoners taken by the English in this signal victory, were 230 French, and 440 Scots, including a very few English of the adventuaing party, who, unhappily for themselves, had continued in the army of Ascanius till this fatal day. All the artillery, ammunition, and other military stores of the adventurers, together with 12 colours, several standards, and amongst them Ascanius's own, fell into the hands of the victors. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the action; Lord Balmerino, who at first was reported to be killed, was taken soon after by the Grants, and delivered up to the English. Four ladies, who had been very active in the service of Ascanius, were likewise taken at Inverness; viz. Lady Kinloch, Lady Ogilvie, Lady M'Intosh, and Lady Gordon.

Immediately after the adventurers had quitted the the field, Brigadier Mordaunt was detached with 900 of the volunteers into

Lord Lovat's country, to reduce the Frasers, and all others who should be found in arms there; and with the like view, other detachments were sent into the estates of most of the adventuring chiefs, which put it entirely out of Ascanius' power afterwards to get together any considerable number of troops. In short, the adventurers who escaped the battle were now necessitated to separate into small parties, in order to shift the better for themselves.

The Earl of Cromarty was not at the battle. This Lord had been ordered by Arcanius into his own country to raise men and money. But this order proved fatal to the Earl, who, almost at the very instant when Ascanius was defeated at Culloden, was taken prisoner by a party of Lord Rea's men, and a few others, who surprised his Lordship, his son Captain M'Leod, and a great many other officeas, with above 150 private men; they were conveyed on board the Hound sloop of war and carried to Inverness.

That the reader, whether Englishman, Scotsman, Frenchman, or of any other nation, may know in what light the Georgians, in general, looked upon this important event, I shall quote a reflection from a writer, who, though a zealous whig, has honestly and impartially summed up and repeated only what was about this time remarked in almost all companies, both public and private

“ Thus, (says he) the flame of this rebellion, which, after being smothered for a time in Scotland, broke out at last with such force as to spread itself into England; and, not without reason, alarmed even London itself, that great metropolis was in a short space totally extinguished by him, who gave the first check to its force, and who, perhaps alone, was capable of performing this service to his country, his father, and his king. It is sufficiently known how great a hazard the person runs of displeasing him who praises his Royal Highness, but the regard we owe to truth, justice, and the public, obliges one on this occasion to declare, that Providence particularly made use of him as its most proper instrument in performing this work. He it was who revived the spirits of the people, by the magnanimity of his own behaviour; he, without severity, restored discipline in the army; he prudently suspended his career at Aberdeen till the troops recovered their fatigue, and the season opened a road to victory; he waited with patience, chose with discretion, and most happily and gloriously improved that opportunity which blasted the hopes of the rebels, and has secured to us the present possession and future prospect of the wisest and best-framed constitution, administered by the gentlest and the most indulgent government Europe can boast.”

The humility, piety, and humanity of the Duke of Cumberland, are no less conspicuous and admirable on this occasion, than his prowess. Humility, when merely constitutional, is a noble qualification: the humble man is generally esteemed by all, and he alone stands fairest for advancement. But this quality is most excellent when it proceeds from the fear and love of God; for he that, sensible of his own weakness, walks in a constant dependance upon God for every blessing, is sure of his powerful assistance, and of being exalted above every evil in this world, and in that which is to come.

This divine and moral disposition, gives us unspeakable pleasure in those who are eminent in life: so that, to hear or read of a great man speaking humbly of himself, when reflecting upon the mercy and love of God, is matter of greater joy to us, than to hear of his conquering kingdoms.

The signal mercy of our God, in delivering us from those who came to destroy or enslave us, has caused an universal joy, some expressing it one way, and some another; but all join in extolling the Duke of Cumberland as the principal deliverer of his country under God Almighty. Amidst all these acclamations, how beautiful a scene must it be, to behold his Highness modestly attributing all the glory to God? That this is the case, I think plainly appears from a worthy *ejacu-*

lation of the Duke's, a little after the late engagement, which I had from good authority.

The rebellion being now suppressed, the legislature resolved to execute justice upon those who dared to disturb the tranquillity of their country.

Among those who suffered death, Lord Balmerino, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff, make the greatest figure. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and Lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their Peers in Westminster Hall. The two Earls confessed their crime; but Balmerino pleaded not guilty, and moved a point of law in arrest of judgment. The point was, that his indictment was found in the county of Surrey, and so he ought to be tried where the act of treason was said to have been committed; however, he waved his plea, and submitted to the court.

The court pronounced sentence of death against the whole three; but the life of Cromarty was spared, and his two other associates were ordered to be beheaded; which sentence was carried into execution on the 18th of August, 1746.

JOURNAL
OF THE
MIRACULOUS ESCAPE
OF THE
YOUNG CHEVALIER.

BOOK II.

AFTER the Highlanders gave way at the battle of Culloden, the Prince was forced off the field by Major Kennedy and the other officers, while the French forces and a few Scotch kept the Duke's army at bay, to prevent an immediate pursuit.

A great number of gentlemen went to guard the Prince safe off, and crossed the river Nairn, four miles from Inverness; here it was the Prince first despaired, and desired the gentlemen to disperse, that their enemies might be baffled by the variety of their routs: and accordingly, the Honourable Charles Boyd, second son to the Earl of Kilmarnock, and some others, kissed the Prince's hand, and went off on their respective routs.

The Prince was attended by Sir Thomas Sheridan; Sir David Murray; Aid-de-camp

Sullivan; Alexander M'Leod, another Aid-de-camp, and son of Mr. John M'Leod, advocate; John Hay, secretary in Murray's absence; Edward Burke; Alex. M'Leod's man; Mr Hay's man; and Allan M'Donald, a priest, employed as a guide.

About ten o'clock at night Ascanius and his few attendants, proceeded on their journey; and about 4 o'clock, A.M. they arrived at Glengary, or Invergarry castle, where they found only one man, who said that Glengary and his family were absent, and had left no provisions or furniture in the house: so the Prince was obliged to lie for some time on the floor, without any refreshment.

When day-light appeared, Edward Burke found a net, which he drew, and caught two salmons, on which they dined very well.

Here this company was ordered to disperse, and part took leave, and went for Arnaby; the rest, Sullivan, Allan M'Donald, and Edward Burke, the guide, staying to attend the Prince.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Prince set forward with his three companions having dressed himself in Burke's cloathes, and went to Donald Cameron's at Glenbrien, in Lochiel's country, where they arrived about nine in the evening.

On the 18th the Prince went to Mewboll, in Clanronald's Country, where he staid all night, was well entertained, and got some

sleep, which he had not had for five days and nights; he and his army having been in action, under arms, marching and counter-marching, without sleep or much meat, for 48 hours before the battle.

The next day being the 19th, the Prince waited some hours, in hopes of getting intelligence of some of his friends; but hearing nothing, he was obliged to set out on foot, the horse road not only being about, but so bad, as to be scarce, if at all, passable, and therefore walked over almost inaccessible mountains to the Glen of Morar, or Kenlock-Morar, and thence to Boisdale, or Bordale, in Arisaig, Clanronnald's country, through as bad ways as can be conceived.

Here the Prince waited several days, till Captain O'Neil came to him, by Sir Thomas Sheridan's directions, and told him that all hopes of drawing his troops together again, were now over; on which he resolved at last to go to the western islands, whence, he thought, he could get a vessel for France.

Strong were the debates here, about quitting the continent of Scotland for the Isles. The Highlanders were against so dangerous a step; but, at last, Sullivan's advice, whose head had injured his master more than once, prevailed; asserting a greater probability of getting ships about the isles, and the great danger of staying on the continent; but the Prince following this advice, had like to have

lost his life many ways, and many times, as we shall find in the sequel.

In one day three several messengers got to Donald M'Leod, who had been with Mr Æneas M'Donald to the isles, to fetch some money from the isle of Bara, and was returning when the battle was ended; these three were sent to order M'Leod to repair to the Prince at Boradale.

Pursuant to this summons, Donald went, and in going through a wood on the 20th or 21st of April, met the Prince alone. The Prince seeing Donald, advanced boldly, and asked, *Who was he? what was he?* which Donald answering daringly, said, *My name is Donald M'Leod.* "Oh! thou art Donald M'Leod of Gualtergil, in the isle of Sky;" "Yes," said Donald; then said the Prince, "You see the distress I am in, I therefore throw myself into your bosom, and do with me what you like—*I am your Prince.*"

In repeating these words, the poor old man burst into a flood of tears, and said, "I hope, Sir, (to the person he was relating this to) you will pardon me, for who can refrain from tears at so doleful a thought! oh! had you seen but the man, and the place, and the distress; oh! it would have moved the Grand Turk!" Donald having wiped his eyes, proceeded, and said, "He told the Prince, that as he (M'Leod) was old, he was afraid he could be of little use, but yet

was willing to do what he could." "Then," says the Prince, "I desire you will go with **these** letters to Sir Alex. M'Donald, and the **Laird** of M'Leod; for I still think those gentlemen, notwithstanding what they have **done**, will have humanity and honour enough to give protection to the wretched, whose crime is only *bad luck* and *misfortune*."

These generous sentiments struck Donald with surprise, and he immediately cried out; "Oh! Sir, I would do any thing for you but **this**: your Highness knows they have played the rogue already, and you must not trust them again; for at this very time, they are in search of you with their forces, and are within ten or twelve miles of you, if they come by sea, though it is more by land; therefore the sooner you remove from this place the better."

Upon Donald's counsel, as above, the Prince desired, "that as he was a good pilot, he would conduct him through the islands, to some safer place:" which Donald M'Leod readily agreed to; and, accordingly, procured an eight oared boat, late the property of John M'Donald.

Donald M'Leod also brought a pot to boil meat in, when they should arrive on shore, and a firloft (i. e. four pecks) of meal, being all the provision to be got there.

On the 26th, they went on board with twilight, in the evening, at Lochnanna, in Boro-

dale, the self-same place where the Prince first landed on the continent of Scotland and Boradale house, the first he entered. There were in the boat, the Prince, O'Neill, Sullivan, Allan M'Donald of Clanronald's family, and Donald M'Leod, their pilot: the boatmen were, Roderick M'Donald, Lauchlin M'Murrish, Roderick M'Askhill, John M'Donald, Murdoch M'Leod, son to the pilot, Duncan Roy, Alexander M'Donald, and Edward Burke, (who had conducted the Prince from the battle of Culloden to this place.

When they were about to go into the boat, Donald M'Leod begged the Prince not to go that night, because it would prove a storm; but the Prince was anxious to quit danger, and, being determined, he would go.

They had not gone far before the storm began, and was as great as Donald had ever seen on that coast, with an additional grief, that it rained as if a deluge was approaching; and what was still worse, they had neither pump nor compass, the night was as dark as pitch, and they knew not where they were. This increased their fears, lest they should be driven on the isle of Sky, where the militia were in arms; but the morning light appearing, they found themselves on the coast of Long Isle, where, about seven o'clock in the morning, with great difficulty they landed at a point called Rushness, in the N. E. part

of the isle of Benbicula, and hauled their boat on dry land ; having run thirty leagues in eight hours, a most extraordinary quick passage. This storm prevented any immediate attempt to pursue the Prince, and all the boats that were out with such views, were forced to put into land ; as nothing but the immediate hand of Providence could support this open boat, against such weather, which looked to the boatmen as miraculous as the escape of Jonas out of the whale's belly. Very luckily for the Prince, it was thought he had sailed for St. Kilda in the north ; a place so remote, that no suspicion could be readily entertained of his being there.

The Prince here got on shore into an uninhabited hut, and helped to make a fire to warm the crew, who were almost perished with cold and wet. This storm continued for fourteen hours after they landed.

Here the Prince bought a cow for 30s. and immediately shot her, and had some of her boiled in the pot which Donald M'Leod had bought for them. After which the Prince lay down on the floor, having no other bed than an old sail cloth, and slept very sound ; but the crew were obliged to keep a good look out, by regular watches.

They staid two nights in this place, and on the 29th, in the evening, they set sail about six o'clock for Stornoway, in the isle of Lewis, in N. lat. 58° 8', where Donald M'Leod did

not doubt but he should be able to procure a proper vessel to convey the Prince safe to France. They took some of their beef with them, and set sail, but meeting with another storm, they were obliged to put into the isle of Scalpa, or Glass, near the Harris, belonging to the Laird of M'Leod, which is about fourteen leagues N. of Benbicu'a.

Here they all went on shore, about two hours before day-light on the 30th, in the morning, and passed for merchants shipwrecked in their voyage to the Orkneys; the Prince and Sullivan going by the name of Sinclair; the latter for the father, and the former for the son; and were well entertained at one Donald Campbell's house, a farmer.

The next day, May 1st, Donald M'Leod, so often mentioned, procuring a boat of their landlord, Campbell, went to Stornway, with instructions to freight a vessel for the Orkneys.

On the 3d of May, the Prince received a message from M'Leod, that a ship was ready; whereupon, the next day got another boat with four men, and landed at Loch Shefort in M'Kennin's country, where Allan M'Leod took his leave, and went for S. Uist.

The Prince then having O'Neill, Sullivan, and his guide with him, set out on foot for Stornway, which is about 30 miles by land, and arrived at the point of Ayrnish, about half a mile S. E. from Stornway, on the 5th about noon: having travelled eighteen

hours on the hills, in a wet stormy night, without any kind of refreshment, and were misled by their guide, either through ignorance or design, having conducted them eight miles out of their way, when they might have avoided that trouble, by crossing the ferry from Scalpa to the Harris, which is about a quarter of a mile over. This, though they then thought it a misfortune, proved to be a very providential means of preventing the Prince from being taken, which had they arrived there sooner, would have been the case, as we shall see presently.

From this place, the Prince sent his guide to Donald M'Leod at Stornway, desiring he would send some brandy, bread, and cheese, for they were almost starved and famished. The faithful Donald soon brought it himself to the Prince and his two companions on the moor, all wet to the skin, and much wearied with their journey. Whereupon Donald took them to Lady Kildun's (M'Kenzie). at Ayrnish, to wait there till every thing should be ready for setting sail; while the Prince, being wearied, went to sleep.

This done, Donald M'Leod returned to Stornway, but was greatly surprised to find the men there rising in arms, above 200 having already got up. Donald, not knowing what was the occasion of this rising, went directly into the room, where the gen-

tlemen were, and asked, "what was the matter?" on which they immediately began to curse him, saying, "We hear the Prince is upon the Lewis, and not far from Stornoway, coming with 500 men, to burn the town, and take away our cattle, &c. and to force a vessel from Stornoway to carry him to France." Donald replied, "I think you are all mad. Where the devil could the Prince, in his present condition, get either 500 or 100 men?" They replied, "The Mr John Macauley, a Presbyterian minister, in South Uist, had wrote this to his father in the Harris; and the father had sent the same to Mr M'Kenzie, minister in the Lewis.—"Well then," says Donald, "since you know the Prince is already in the island, I own he is; but he is so far from having any forces, that he has only two companions, and when I am there I make a third—and let me tell you further, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, he durst not, by G—, put a hand to the Prince's breast.

Upon this, the M'Kenzies declared, that they had no intention to do the Prince the least harm; but desired, that he might leave them and go to the continent or anywhere else. The wind being fair, Donald M'Leod then desired a pilot, but they refused. Donald then returned to the Prince, and gave him a full and honest account how matters

stood ; on which they were all at a loss what step to take. Some proposed to fly to the moor ; but the Prince replied he would not ; “ I’ll stand my ground,” said he, “ for if we fly, our enemies may be encouraged to pursue.”

Now the reader may observe, that had not the Prince been taken eight miles out of the way by the guide, he would have been in the town of Stornway, when Mr M’Aulay’s letter to Mr Colin M’Kenzie, arrived, and then the people would have risen upon him, and have either killed him in their fury, or taken him prisoner ; from both of which he was thus providentially saved.

Two of the boatmen had fled up to the moor, upon seeing the people rising at Stornway ; and the other two went to sea with the boat.

They staid here all night, and about two o’clock in the morning, being the 6th of May, the two boatmen returned with the boat ; and as soon as day-light appeared they all rowed away, with only two boatmen, the rest not returning from the moor.

The Prince and company resolved to go in Donald Campbell’s boat to the Orkneys, but the men would not venture ; so they were obliged to steer south along the coast side, hoping to meet better success. They soon espied two English Ships, which obliged them to put into a desert island, called

Euirn or Iffurt, half a mile both in length and breadth. It is twelve miles distant from Stornway, and lies a little north of Scalpa or Glass.

At this place there were some fishermen who, taking the Prince's boat to be a press boat belonging to the men of war, ran away leaving their fish-pots, &c.

They staid on this island until the 10th lying in a low pitiful hut belonging to the fishermen, so ill roofed, that they were obliged to spread the boat's sail over the top of it, and lie upon the bare floor, keeping watch by turns.

On the 10th of May, about 10 o'clock in the forenoon, they embarked for Harris, taking about two dozen of fish with them, and got to Scalpa or Glass, to their hospitable farmer's again. In this place they offered money for a boat, it being safer and better than the one they had, but could not get it. Wind not serving, they were obliged to row.

About day-break, on the 11th, the wind rising, they hoisted sail; and being short of food, made drammack (stappack) of salt water mixed with meal, of which the Prince ate heartily, and got a bottle of brandy, and helped a dram to each person.

Soon after this, they were chased by an English ship, commanded by Captain Ferguson; but they escaped among the rocks, at the point of Roudil, in Harris, M'Leod's

country. The ship followed them three leagues. They kept close on shore, and sailed to Lochmaddy, to the south of the Uist; next to Lochniskiway, in Benbicula, and then to an island in that Loch, called Loch-Escaby, where they arrived about four in the afternoon.

In this voyage they were within two musket-shot of the ship, before they saw her, at Finslay in the Harris. They were to the windward, and the ship was in the mouth of the bay, so they made all the haste they could to the coast of Benbicula. In this course, they saw another ship in Lochmaddy, in North Uist. They had scarce got on shore when the wind very remarkably turned quite contrary, and blew and rained very hard, which drove the ships that were pursuing quite off. At this the Prince said, "I see I must now escape; I see that Providence will not let me be taken alive at this time."

It being now low water, one of the boatmen went among the rocks and caught a partan, or crab fish, which he held up to the Prince in great joy; who, taking a cog, or wooden pail, in his hand, went and partook in the diversion, and soon filled the cog.

There was no house, cottage, or hut, nearer than two miles, and that only a poor one; however, when they set out, the Prince took up the cog full of partans, and marched away with it; but Donald M'Leod ran after him,

and desired to carry it, which he refused, saying, "If I carry this, Donald, every one of the company will take more or less of our baggage, and then it will be more equally divided amongst us; therefore, I will not part with this, for I am better able to carry it than you;" and accordingly, he carried it.

At this hut, the laird of Clanronnald went to pay his respects to the Prince, and promised his assistance to get him safe out of the kingdom; towards which his lady afterwards assisted, for she sent the Prince six good shirts, some brandy and wine, and every thing else that was necessary and comfortable.

On the 16th, it was thought proper that the Prince should remove from this nasty hut, and go sixteen miles farther into the country, as far as the mountain of Durradale or Corradale, in South Uist, and there wait till fortune was more favourable; having first sent Donald M'Leod, in Campbell's boat, to the continent of Scotland, with letters to Lochiel and John Murray the secretary, to know how affairs stood, and to bring cash and brandy to the Prince.

Donald met Lochiel and Murray at the head of Loch Arkaig, but got no money at all from Murray, who said, "he had none to give, for that he had only sixty louis d'ors for himself." Donald immediately returned, and found the Prince at Corradale, where he left him, having been eighteen days away upon this expedition.

It is surprising to think, that the Prince could be kept safe above three weeks in such a place, when upwards of 100 people knew where he was, and his enemies were daily out upon the scout on all sides.

On the 14th of June, the Prince O'Neil, Sullivan, Edw. Burke, and Donald M'Leod, sailed from the foot of Corradale in Campbell's boat, and landed in Oua or Fovaya, an island lying between S. Uist & Benbicula.

Here they stayed four nights, and on the 18th, the Prince, O'Neill, and a guide, went to Rushness, and Sullivan and M'Leod were left in Oua. Here the Prince stayed two nights, and then receiving information that the militia were coming towards Benbicula, it was necessary to get back again to the foot of Corradale. But he scarcely knew what to do, as the militia boats had been some time between Oua and Rushness. Donald M'Leod and Sullivan, hearing of this, set sail in the night, and brought the Prince from Rushness to Corradale again; but meeting with a violent storm and heavy rain, they were forced into Uishness point, two miles and a half off Corradale, called Achkirsideallish, a rock upon the shore, in a cleft of which they took up their quarters.

At night, finding their enemies within two miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at Celiestiella; from whence they steered for Loch-Boisdale. A man on board

swore there was a long-boat before them in their way, no doubt full of marines, although Donald M'Leod was positive to the contrary, assuring them that it was nothing but a little rock in the water, which he knew very well, which had the appearance of a boat at a distance; yet the sailors would not believe him, and returned to Celiestiella, where they stayed that night, and got next day to Loch-Boisdale. There they got the disagreeable news of Boisdale's being made a prisoner, &c. When they first set out, from Corra-dale to Loch-Boisdale, they espied three sail within cannon-shot of the shore, by day break, and therefore were obliged to return back again to Celiestiella, in South Uist.

While they were here, Donald M'Leod espied two sail, which they took for French ships, but they proved to be English men of war; which, however, gave them no trouble. The Prince, having rested some days, found himself in a most desperate situation, for he got intelligence that Capt. Caroline Scott, had landed at Kilbride, within less than two miles of him. This obliged him to part from his constant attendants, Sullivan, faithful Donald M'Leod, his guide Burke, and all the boats crew, keeping only O'Neill. Two shirts was all their baggage.

When he parted with Donald M'Leod, there was an appointment to meet again at a

certain place, by different ways. Donald went south about, and all the rest left the Prince, except O'Neil; upon which he was obliged to sink the boat, and shift as well as he could for himself. The others after parting with the Prince, stayed in the fields two nights, having only the sails of the boat for a cover. On the third night they went farther into the Loch, and rested thereabouts for other two nights, until they got sight of some of the red coats, which forced them to the north side of the Loch.

On the 5th of July, Donald M'Leod was taken prisoner by Allan M'Donald of Knock, a lieutenant, at Slate, in the isle of Sky; he at the same time took M'Donald, of the family of Glenaladale, and Mr. Forrest, a Romish priest. They were carried from place to place, and at last to Applecrossbay, in the isle of Sky, and there put on board the Furnace, Captain Fergusson. Donald M'Leod was immediately carried into the cabin to General Campbell, who examined him very circumstantially.

The General asked him if he had been along with the young Pretender? "Yees, (said Donald,) I winna dennee it."—"Do you know, (said the general,) what money was upon that gentleman's head?—no less than £30,000 sterling, man! which would have made you and your family happy for ever."—"And who then, mon?" replied Do-

nald, "what and thoff ee'd ha gotten it, I wauld not had enjoyed it for twa days; an' could ee? Conscience, mon! conscience wauld ha gotten the better o' ma, and that it wauld; altoff eed ha gotten a' England and Scotland for ma pains, I wauld not allow a hair o' his heed to be touched; an' ee co'd heender it, sance he threw his leefe upon ma, mon?" The General could not avoid admiring Donald's honour and generosity, and his contempt of gold, when put in competition with his virtue.

Donald was conveyed on board a ship to Tilbury Fort, and thence removed to London, and at last was discharged out of a messenger's hands, (where he had been a little time,) on the 10th of June, 1747.

Burke, after parting from the Prince, went over North Strand, or North Uist, where he skulked in a hill called Eval, for near seven weeks, twenty days of which he had not any meat, except dulse and lampets, a kind of shell fish.

After various distresses, he was at last obliged to hide himself in a cave, in North Uist, where he was fed by a Shoemaker and his wife in the night; and, after various troubles, is now safe in Edinburgh, by virtue of the general act of grace.

The Prince having only O'Neil with him retired to the mountains, where he lay the night. Next day he received the informa-

tion that General Campbell was at Bernary, an island about two miles long, and one broad, lying between North Uist and the Harris, belonging to the M'Leods.

The Prince had military forces now on both the land sides of him, and the sea on the other, without any kind of vessel to venture out with. In this perplexity, O'Neil thought proper to apply to a young lady, called Flora M'Donald, who was at her brother's at Melton, in South Uist, upon a visit from the isle of Sky. Here O'Neil, having some little acquaintance with this young lady, proposed to her to assist the Prince to escape from thence, which she objected to do with specious reasons; but O'Neil convincing her that the Prince's situation would not admit of his either coming to her, or of any longer delay, she at last complied, and taking her faithful servant, Neil M'Kechan, with her, she accompanied O'Neil to the Prince, where every thing necessary was concerted; and Miss promised to use her utmost to put their scheme in execution, in case another method failed, which she there laid for them, and returned to Melton again. O'Neil promised immediately to get about what was proposed, and to let her know the answer. He did try, but could not bring it to bear; so he went to Melton to acquaint Miss M'Donald thereof, who sent him back to the Prince with a message.

Pursuant to the plan then laid down, Miss Flora set forward for Clanronnald's house, to get things necessary for the Prince's disguise, &c. In going to cross one of the fords, she and her man, Neil M'Kechan, were taken prisoners by a party of militia, because she had no passport. She demanded to see their leader, but being told that he would not be there until next morning, she asked what his name was, and then finding he was her own step-father, she chose to stay there all night, until he should arrive next day, rather than answer their questions. She was then carried into the guard-room, and kept a prisoner until relieved by her step-father, who arrived next day, June 22d, and was not a little surprised to find Miss Flora in custody. She took him aside, told him what she was about, and desired a passport for herself, her man M'Kechan, and for one Betty Burke, a woman who was a good spinner; and as her mother had a great quantity of lint to spin, she also desired a letter to recommend Betty Burke to her, all which her step-father consented to; and then she proceeded on her journey to Clanronnald's house, where she acquainted Lady Clanronnald with the design, who was ready to give all the assistance in her power.

Here she stayed till Friday, the 27th, during which time O'Neil passed and re-passed several times, with messages betwixt the

Prince, Lady Clanronnald, and her. The time set being come, Lady Clanronnald, (another M'Donald,) Miss Flora, and her man M'Kechan, conducted by O'Neil, went to the Prince, eight miles distant, and carried with them a new dress, and some other things, to serve him in his voyage, particularly part of a bottle of white wine, being all that the military had left Clanronnald. This the Prince took special care of, and would not taste one drop of it, but preserved it for his female guide.

When they arrived, they found the Prince in a little hut, cheerfully roasting and dressing dinner, which was the heart, liver, and kidneys of a sheep, upon a wooden spit.

They dined, and at table the Prince placed Miss Flora on the right, and Lady Clanronnald on his left hand; the rest of the company sat by chance, ate very heartily, and he smoked a pipe with them.

Next morning they heard of General Campbell's arrival at Benbicula; and soon after, a servant came in great hurry to Lady Clanronnald, and acquainted her, "that Captain Fergusson, with an advanced party of Campbell's men, was at her house, and that the Captain lay in her bed last night."

This obliged her to return immediately; so, after taking leave of the Prince, she set forward to her own house, where Fergusson examined her very strictly: "Where have

you been, Madam?" says he. She answered, "To see a child that had been sick, and is now better again." The Captain asked many more questions, such as "Where this child was? how far it was off from thence?"

The company being gone, (O'Neil having begged hard to accompany the Prince, but Miss Flora would on no account consent, for fear of being discovered; so the Prince and he took leave of each other in an affectionate manner). Miss Flora then desired the Prince *to put on his new attire*, which being soon done, they, with their crew, removed nearer the water-side, where the boat was afloat, to be ready in case of any sudden attack from the shore.

They arrived in a very wet condition, and made a fire upon a rock to keep themselves warm until night. They had not been long here, when they were alarmed by four wherries, full of armed men, approaching towards the shore. At this sight they extinguished their fire, and concealed themselves in the heather, or ling; but their fear soon vanished, for the wherries sailed quietly by.

On the 28th of June, about eight o'clock in the evening, they set out in very clear weather, but had not gone above a league, before the sea became very rough, and at last tempestuous. However, they made the point of Waternish, where they tried to land, but they found the place possessed by

a body of forces, who had also three boats near the shore, and several men-of-war were in sight. A man on board one of these boats fired at the Prince and crew, to make them bring to. They rowed off, but would have been taken, had it not been providentially very calm, the ships at some distance, and the militia on shore not being able to stir for want of their oars, which were hauled up and flung in the ling by the crew, who were scampering up and down; however they sent up to alarm the people in a small town not far off.

They got safe into a creek in a rock, and there remained to rest the men, who had been all night at work, and also to get some refreshment; however as soon as they could they set forward again, lest the alarm given to the village should bring down the people upon them, which would have been the case had they stayed; for they had not gone far, before they observed the people approaching to the place they had so lately quitted.

From this place they went and landed at Kilbride, in the isle of Sky, about twelve miles distant the above mentioned point. In this neighbourhood there were also several militia in search of the Prince, whose commanding officer was at Sir Alexander M'Donald's, the very house Miss Flora was going to; but she did not know the officer was there until she saw him.

Miss M'Donald left the Prince at the boat, and went with her man to Mogstod, the seat of Sir Alexander M'Donald; but he was not at home, being then with the Duke of Cumberland. She sent into the room to Lady Margaret M'Donald, to let her know she was come, having before apprized my lady of her errand by Mrs. M'Donald, who went before her for that purpose.

She was soon introduced into the room where the company were, amongst whom was the commanding officer of the forces in that neighbourhood, who questioned her very minutely, all which she answered as she thought proper.

Miss Flora having told Lady Margaret where she had left the Prince, and the situation he was in, my lady was at a loss what to do; but as Mr. M'Donald of Kingsboro', Sir Alexander's steward, was in the house, she applied to him, and desired he would conduct the Prince to Kingsborough, which he readily complied with, and sent a boy down to the boat, with instructions to show the Prince to a place about a mile distant from the boat, whither he himself would go and be there with some refreshments.

Every thing being ready, Miss Flora and her man and maid, all set forward. They had not gone far before they overtook the Prince and Kingsborough.

Mrs. M'Donald's maid could not keep he

eyes off the Prince, and said to Miss Flora, "Ma think ay neer saw such an impudent looken' woman, or a mon in womon's claahtes!" Miss Flora replied she was an Irishwoman, for she knew her, and had seen her before. "Bless me, (quoth the maid) what long straides the jade taks! and hoo awkwardly she warks her petticoats, &c. I believe those Eirish women could faight as well as the men!"

Miss Flora not liking the maid's observations, nor thinking it proper to let Mr. M'Donald's man-servant see the rout which they took, she called out to Mrs. M'Donald to ride faster; this was complied with, and they soon lost sight of the two on foot, and turned out of the common road to avoid the militia, and went over the hills S.S.E. till they arrived at Kingsborough-House, which was about 11 o'clock at night, June 29.

O'Neil, after parting from the Prince and Miss Flora, went and met Sullivan, who was yet upon the island. About two days after the Prince and O'Neil had parted, a French cutter, having 120 men on board, went to the isle of South Uist, intending to carry off the Prince, who, they were informed, was there. Sullivan went immediately on board, while O'Neil went back for the Prince, hoping to overtake him before he and Miss Flora should leave the island; but O'Neil finding the Prince had left the island two

days before, returned to the place where he had left the cutter ; but unhappily for him, the vessel was gone about three hours before ; for the timorous Sullivan, having a fair wind, had not courage enough to stay for the Prince and O'Neil, but set sail directly, to save one *precious* life, and left the Prince and O'Neil to their good master, PROVIDENCE. O'Neil was soon after taken prisoner, but being a foreign officer, was only a prisoner of war ; he was put on board a man-of-war, where, in a little time after, he saw Miss Flora a prisoner also, for doing what he had been the instrument of bringing about. He was afterwards conveyed to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and after some time sent home.

But to return to Ascanius, he soon got to Kingsborough's house. Mrs. M'Donald, not expecting her husband home at that time of the night, was undrest, and just going to bed, when one of her maid-servants went up and told her that Kingsborough was returned, and had brought some company with him. She had scarce said this, before Kingsborough himself came into the room and desired his wife to dress again as fast as she could, and get such meat as they were ready for supper.

When she went into the room, the Prince was sitting, but got up immediately and saluted her. She then began to tremble, had

ing found a rough beard, imagining it was some distressed nobleman in disguise. She therefore went directly out of the room without saying a word, and importuned Kingsborough to tell her who it was, and if he could tell any thing of what was become of the Prince. Kingsborough smiled and told her "My dear, it is the Prince."—"The Prince!" cried she, "then we aae a' ruined, we will be a' hanged now!" "Hute," cried he, "we will die but once, and if we are hanged for this, we die in a good cause."

At supper, the Prince placed Miss Flora on his right hand, always paying her the greatest respect wherever she was, and always rising up whenever she entered the room, and Mrs. M'Donald on his left. He made a plentiful supper, eating four eggs, some collips, bread, and butter; he drank two bottles of beer at supper, and then calling for a bumper of brandy, he drank—"Health and prosperity to his landlord and landlady, and better times to us all;" and after supper, smoked a pipe.

After the Prince was gone to bed, Mrs. M'Donald desired Miss Flora to relate his adventures as far as she knew of them, which she did; and when she had concluded, Mrs. M'Donald asked her what was become of the boatmen who had brought them to that island? She replied, they went back again directly for South Uist. That was wrong,

says Mrs. M'Donald, for you should have kept them on this side, at least till the Prince had got farther from his pursuers.

As Mrs. M'Donald conjectured, so it proved; for the boatmen were immediately seized on their return, and being threatened with torture or death, both of which are absolutely against the law; by these threats the men revealed all they knew, and gave a description of the gown, with purple sprigs thickly stamp'd, and a white apron.— This thought of her's determined Mis Flora to desire him to change his dress; which he agreed to, not being willing to march any farther in that dress, having found it so troublesome the day before.

This great feast which the Prince had got being the most material refreshment the Prince had met with for a long time, agreed so well with him, that he slept nine or ten hours without interruption; whereas, in general, he seldom took above three or four hours to rest.

Although the Prince was to change his dress, it was thought necessary to leave the house in the same habit he arrived, that in case of a pursuit, it would prevent any one from describing the dress he travelled in.

The Prince being dressed, got his breakfast, and taking leave of his landlady, he and Kingsborough, with a bundle of Highland cloathes under his arm, went to a wood

not far from Kingsborough-house, and there he changed his dress. This being done, he took Kinsborough in his arms, bade him a long adieu, and in a most affectionate manner thanked him for his services, and assured him he would never forget them. saying, "Who knows, Kingsborough, but you and I may drink a pot of porter together in a certain place, after all this:" they then both wept, and a few drops of blood fell from the Prince's nose. Kingsborough sent a guide with him to Portree, or Partree, through all the bye-ways, while Miss Flora went on horseback by another road, thereby the better to gain intelligence, and to prevent a discovery. The gown the Prince had on was linen and cotton, having a white ground, with purple coloured flowers.

Kingsborough had sent before to procure a boat and every thing else necessary towards the Prince's escape. The Prince being arrived safe here, again met his female guide: this was the last time they saw each other. Miss Flora and he were both very wet, and staid no longer there than to dry their cloathes, and to get what little refreshment the place afforded, which took up about two hours time. Here the Prince took leave of Miss Flora, returning her his sincere thanks for her kind assistance, and greatly lamented, that he had not a M'Donald to go on to the end; saying, "Well, Miss Fiora, I hope

we shall yet be in a good coach and six, before we die, though we be now on foot."

About six or eight days after the Prince left Sky, Captain Fergusson followed him hot foot. From the boatmen that were taken at their return to South Uist, he got an exact description of the gown and dress the Prince had on, pursued him to Sir Alexr. M'Donald's house, and there searched very strictly: hearing only of Miss Flora, he went to Kingsborough and examined him, and his wife, and daughter.

Kingsborough was taken prisoner, and carried to Fort-Augustus; where he was plundered of his shoe-buckles, garters, watch, and money; and in a few hours after thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. While he was prisoner, one of the Captains of the English forces went to him, and asked, "If he would know the Prince's head if he saw it?" Kingsborough trembling at the thought of the Prince being murdered, said, "He could not engage for that, unless it was joined to the body."

He was kept until the act of grace, and then was discharged on the 4th of July, 1747, having been confined a year for that one night's lodging.

Miss Flora having taken leave of the Prince, left Portree immediately, and went to her mother's at Slait; crossed the country, and had a very fatiguing journey: but she

neither told her mother, nor any other person, what she had been about

One M'Leod of Taliskar, an officer in one of the independent companies, desired one of the M'Donalds, who lived four miles from Slait, to send for Miss Flora, in order to examine her about what had happened. Accordingly, about eight or nine days after she got home, a message came from this person, to go to his house as soon as she could.

Miss Flora, being not a little suspicious of the design, thought proper to communicate to her friends what she had done, and consult them as to what she should do; upon which they advised her not to go, however, till next day; which she did accordingly.

She had not gone far, when she was taken prisoner by an officer and a party of soldiers, who were going to her mother's in search of her. They carried her immediately on board a ship, without suffering her either to go for her cloathes and linen, or take leave of her friends.

Miss Flora was removed from thence on board Commodore Smith's ship, where she was exceeding well treated, for he was very polite to her, for which, at his request, while she was in London, she consented to sit for her picture. The ship was sometime in Leith Roads, and she, after being conveyed from place to place, was at last,

on November 28th, 1746, put on board the Royal Sovereign, lying at the Nore, whence on the 6th of December following, she was removed to London, in custody of Mr. W. Dick, a messenger, having been five months on ship-board. In this messenger's custody she remained until July, 1747, when she was discharged, and returned to Edinburgh.

Having concluded the history of Kingsborough and Miss Flora M'Donald, I shall now return to the Prince.

Kingsborough having sent to the Laird of Raaza for his assistance, Captain Malcom M'Leod, an officer under the Prince at the battles of Falkirk and Culloden, and Murdock M'Leod, third son of Raaza, who was wounded in the shoulder at Culloden, by a musket shot, met the Prince at Portree, in the Isle of Sky, where Miss Flora left him.

They staid but a little time after their arrival, and then they attended the Prince to a small boat, wherein John M'Leod, the young laird of Raaza waited very impatient to get a sight of the Prince. They set out immediately, there being in the boat, the Prince, Captain Malcom M'Leod, his guide; the young laird of Raaza; his brother Murdock; the two boatmen, viz. John M'Kenzie and Donald M'Friar, who had both been out in the Prince's service, the one a serjeant, the other a private man. Early in the

morning of July 1st, they arrived safe at Glam, in Raaza, being six miles. They staid there two days and a half, in a mean low hut. Young Raaza brought a lamb and a kid in the corner of his plaid. They were obliged to lie on the bare ground, having only a little heath or ling for a pillow.

On July the 3d, the Prince proposed going to Troternish in Sky, although it blew very hard, and having only the small boat before mentioned. They accordingly set forward, about seven o'clock in the evening, the same company attending him.

About eleven o'clock at night they landed at a place in the island of Sky, called Nicholson's Great Rock, near Scorebreck in Troternish, about ten miles from Glam in Raaza, or Raarsa. Though it was a bad landing, the Prince was the third man who jumped into the water, and helped to haul the boat to dry land. They travelled on to a byre or cowhouse, belonging to one Nicholson, about two miles from Scorebreck.

Here the Prince and company took up their quarters; and Malcom would have had the Prince to put on a dry shirt, and take some sleep. He would not change his shirt, and sleep at last seized him as he sat. He often started in his sleep, and, sighing deep, said, "Ah, poor people! poor people!"

The Prince after some little time awaked, and finding Malcom upon the watch, ear-

nestly desired him to take some rest, but at that time he would not. The Prince renewing his entreaty again, the Captain thought he wanted to say something to the rest of the company in private, and went out for a little time.

The two brothers, young Raaza and Murdoch, and the boatmen, left the Prince here, and returned; the Prince promising to meet the younger at Camistinawag, another place in the same island.

On the 14th, about seven o'clock in the evening, they left the byre, the Captain passing for the master, and the Prince for the man, who always carried the little baggage whenever they saw any person, or came near any village; and then, whenever he spoke to the Captain, or the Captain to him, he always pulled off his bonnet.

They marched all night through the worst ways in Europe, going over hills, wild moors and glens, without halting, till they arrived at Ellagol, or rather Ellighill, near to Kilmaree, or Kilvory, in Strath, and near to a place in some maps called Ord, in the laird of M'Kinnen's country, not far from where that laird lived, having walked 24 miles.

Being come near the place resolved upon, Malcom told the Prince that he had a sister married to one John M'Kinnen, a captain in his army; and he advised him to sit down a little distance from the house, while he we

to learn if any of their enemies were in that neighbourhood in quest of him, and likewise to know whether they could be safe there with her: the Prince was still to pass as his servant, Lewis Caw.

Malcom found his sister at home, but not her husband. After usual compliments at meeting, he told her, "that he was come to stay some little time there, provided there was no party of military people about them, and that he could be safe;" she said he might. Then he told her, "he had no person along with him, except one Lewis Caw, a son of Mr. Caw, surgeon in Crieff, who had been out in the last affair, consequently, in the same situation with himself; and that he was to pass as his servant." She very readily agreed to take him, and Lewis was called into the house.

After getting some refreshment, the Captain desired the maid-servant to wash his feet; which being done, he desired her to wash his man's; but she replied, 'that though she had washed his, she would not wash that loon his servant's;" but the Captain told her, "his servant was not well, and therefore he would have her to do it." She then complied, but rubbed his feet so hard, that she hurt him very much: on which the Prince spoke to the Captain in English, bidding her not rub so hard, nor go so far up with her hand, he having only a philibeg on. After

this refreshment they went both to sleep; during which time the Captain's sister went to the top of a hill to keep watch, lest they should be surprised.

The Prince did not sleep above two hours; the Captain being weary, slept much longer; but when he awaked he saw the Prince dandling a child and singing to it, seeming as alert as if he had been in bed all night.

The Captain being now awake, and hearing his brother-in-law was coming, went out to meet him. After usual ceremonies, Malcom asked him, "If he saw those ships of war that were at a distance, hovering about the coast?" "Yes," said M'Kinnen. "What (says Malcom) if the Prince be on board one of them?" "God forbid!" replied M'Kinnen, "What (said Malcom) if he was here; John, do you think he would be safe enough?" "I wish we had him here, (replied he) for he would be safe enough; for nothing would hurt him here." "Well then, (replied Malcom) he is now in your house; but when you go in, you must not take any notice of him, lest the servants or others observe you; as he passes for one Lewis Caw, my servant." John promised very fair, but no sooner saw the Prince in that condition, than he burst into a flood of tears; which Malcom observing, obliged John to retire immediately.

After much conversation between the

Prince and Malcom, they began to consult how he was to get to the continent of Scotland, and both agreed not to let the laird of M'Kinnen know of their being there, on account of his being so old. They then called in John M'Kinnen, and desired him to go and hire a boat, as if for Macolm only, and made John promise not to communicate any thing of what he had heard or seen about them, to the laird, if he and John should chance to meet.

John, after getting his instructions, set forward ; but meeting with his old chieftain, he could not refrain letting him into the secret. The good old man, getting this intelligence, ordered John to give himself no trouble about the boat, for that he would provide a good one, and would soon be with the Prince.

John returned and told the Prince what had happened, and the laird would soon be with him. Malcolm said to the Prince, "As the case now stands, it will be best to leave all the management to the old gentleman, who will be firm to his trust." The Prince, notwithstanding this, was uneasy at the thought of parting with his faithful captain : but Malcolm represented to him, that as he had been some time absent, the military people would pursue him upon suspicion, which might be the cause of the Prince being taken also ; "but if I return, and should

be taken prisoner, (said Malcolm) which may very likely be the case, it will enable me to prevent so quick a pursuit after you; because, as I am alone, I can tell my own tale without being confronted, and can send them upon a wrong scent: for myself, continued Malcolm, I care not, but for you I am much afraid; and as I can do you more service by quitting than staying with you, I desire you will follow the laird of M'Kinnen's directions." To this he at last consented; and just then the old gentleman came to them, and told them he had got the boat ready, upon which they set out for it directly, accompanied by John MacKinnen, who even went with his laird to the continent of Scotland, and saw the Prince safe landed there.

As they were on their way towards the boat, they spied two ships of war coming towards them in full sail before the wind thereupon they entreated the Prince not to attempt to go on board at that time, but wait till the vessels had steered another course; "for just now, (said Malcolm) the wind is fair for them, and against you."—"Never fear," replied the Prince; "I have not had so few escapes to be sillily caught here. I'll go on board, and the wind will change, and those very ships shall steer another course. Providence shows me that I am in His care, and it therefore cannot be

in the power of my enemies to come near me at this juncture."

At parting, the Prince presented Malcolm with a silver stock buckle, embraced and saluted him twice, thanking him for what he had done, and put ten guineas in his hand, which the Captain refusing, the Prince forced them upon him. Here the Prince, having got a better pipe, had no farther occasion for the short one (called a cutty), which was black with use; this Malcolm took, and some time after sent it to a friend in England.

Malcolm having departed, the Prince, the old laird of M'Kinnen, John M'Kinnen, Malcolm's brother-in-law, and the boatmen, all went on board on the evening of the 5th of July.

What the Prince had said to Malcolm about the wind soon changing fair, and being spoken with such confidence, made so great an impression upon Malcolm, that he was determined to sit down upon a hill and see the event. He waited, and declared, that they had not rowed above half-a-mile, and that towards the ships of war too, when the wind chopped about, and not only blew fair for the Prince, but blew so brisk a gale, that it soon drove the ships out of sight.—The truth of this both Captain Malcolm and those in the boat attested upon oath.

Captain Malcolm returned home again

but was not many days there before he was taken prisoner, and conveyed to London, where he was finally discharged in July, 1747.—He and Miss M'Donald returned to Scotland together.

The Prince left this island for the continent of Scotland, the 5th of July, under the care of the old laird of M'Kinnen. The night proved tempestuous, and the coast was very dangerous. They also met a boat in which were some armed militia, with whom they spoke, and, as the militia did not much exceed their own number, the Prince and crew resolved to make all the head they could, and prepare to fight in case they had been attacked. But in spite of all these dangers, they landed safe at Moidart, about 30 miles from the place they set out from; and went again to Angus M'Donald's house at Boradale, where he changed his dress, and sent for M'Donald of Glenalsdale, of Clanronnald's family.

After having landed the Prince, the laird of M'Kinnen took his leave, and set forward in the same boat, on his return home. He was taken prisoner in Morar, in his passage back, and was conveyed to the Thames, by sea, and there, partly on board, and partly at Tisbury Fort, he was kept a close prisoner until he was removed to the new gaol in Southwark, where he was put in irons, and in 1747 was removed into the hands of the messenger.

Glenaladale, as I observed before, being sent for, came and informed the Prince about Lochiel, Keppoch, and others; and that the loss at Culloden, and after the battle, was not near so great as Sullivan and O'Neil had reported.

The Prince then proposed to go to Lochaber, where he thought his beloved Lochiel was; but as all the passes were closely guarded, it was deemed at that time impracticable; for one line was formed from Inverness to Fort-Augustus, and from thence to Fort-William, to prevent either the Prince or any one of his party from escaping; and another line was formed from the head of Locharkaig, to prevent any from passing in or out of Lochaber.

The Prince continued some days in that country, about ten miles from Moidart, and staid until he heard of the arrival of General Campbell, with 400 men on one side of him, and Captain Caroline Scott, with 500 more on the other, they having received intelligence where the Prince was, were forming a circle round him, and were not two miles distant from him.

The Prince, receiving an account of this, was advised to go to the Braes of Glenmoriston, and to continue there, and in Lord Lovat's country, until the passes should be opened. In this situation he sent for Mr. Donald Cameron of Glenpane, to guide them.

to the Braes of Locharkaig ; he came, and in the night conducted the Prince very safely through the guards, who were in the passes, and went so close to their tents as to hear them speak, being obliged to creep upon their hands and knees. At the same time there went with the Prince, Glenaladale, his brother, and two young boys, sons of Angus M'Donald of Boradale.

After this the Prince continued his journey for Glenmoriston's country ; and as he was travelling one day, having only Glenaladale with him, the latter lost his purse with forty guineas in it. He lamented this misfortune the more, because it was all the money they had, the Prince having none left. He proposed to go back and seek for it, saying, he was certain he could go the very same road, and would find it ; this the Prince opposed, till he, showing how much it might be wanted, went back, desiring the Prince to rest himself behind the hill adjoining, till he should return.

The gentleman being gone, and the Prince at his post, meditating upon the goodness of Providence to himself hitherto, though often in the midst of the greatest dangers ; when, at some distance, he espied a party of soldiers advancing, upon which he hid himself, but in such a manner as to see the soldiers, who went near by, and on the very route where the Prince and the other gentleman

would have gone, had not the purse been lost, or had it not been their whole stock ; and they both must have been taken or killed. Thus, what they were regretting as their greatest misfortune, was the means of their preservation. The Prince watched the soldiers as far as he could see them. Soon after, his friend returned with the purse, to whom he told what he had seen ; after which both of them joined in thanksgiving. The Prince said, "Glenaladale, my hour, I see, is not come ; for, I believe, I should not be taken though I had a mind to it."

They got to Glenmoriston very safe, but were almost famishing with hunger, when the Prince saw a little hut at a distance, and some smoke issuing out at a hole in the roof ; "Thither (says he) will I go, let the consequence be what it will, for I had better be killed like a man, than bestarved like a fool : " he was now forty-eight hours without meat. His friend did all in his power to dissuade him from it, but he would go.

When they got to the hut, the Prince went boldly in, without showing any manner of concern, and found six lusty fellows at dinner, upon a large piece of boiled beef, a sight he had been long a stranger to.

The six men, who were notorious thieves, and made this hut their abode for privacy and safety, were not a little amazed, at seeing a strange face entering there. One of them

knew the Prince, and also that he was skulking; but he, not thinking it safe to tell the rest of the company who their guest was had the presence of mind, upon seeing the Prince, to cry out, "Ha! Dougal Maccul-lony, I am glad to see thee!" The Prince, by this expression, found he was known, and with equal steadiness of countenance, thanked him cheerfully, sat down with them, ate very heartily, and was very merry.

Ascanius, his friend, and the man who knew him, walked out after dinner, and consulted what further was to be done; and being informed of the state of the country about, and of the military people, found it absolutely necessary to wait here for some time, and that the other five men should be entrusted with the secret; which being done, they rejoiced that they had it in their power to serve the Prince: they proved of great service, and were very faithful. With these trusty Falstaffs, and Glenaladale, did the Prince continue, betwixt the braes of Glenmoriston and Glenstrathferrar, until the guards were removed, and the passes opened.

About this time, one Roderick M'Kenzie, a merchant of Edinburgh, who had been out with the Prince, was skulking among the hilla, about Glenmoriston, when some of the soldiers met with him; and as he was about the Prince's size and age, and not unlike him in the face, being a genteel man

and well dressed, they took him for the Prince. M'Kenzie tried to escape them, but could not, and being determined not to be taken and hanged, (which he knew, if taken, would be his fate) he bravely resolved to die sword in hand, and in that death to serve the Prince more than he could do by living. The bravery and steadiness of M'Kenzie confirmed the soldiers in their belief that he was the Prince, whereupon one of them shot him, who, as he fell, cried out to them, "You have killed your Prince, you have killed your Prince!" and expired immediately. The soldiers, overjoyed with their supposed good fortune, in meeting with so great a prize, immediately cut off the brave young man's head, and made all the haste they could to Fort-Augustus, to tell the news of their heroical achievement, and to lay claim to the £30,000, producing the head, which several said they knew to be the Prince's head. This important news, with the head, was soon carried to the Duke, who, believing the *great work* was done, set forward for London from Fort-Augustus, on the 18th of July. It was about this head that Kingsborough was asked the question before-mentioned, by one of the Captains of the English forces.

The soldiers and militia sent out to take the Prince and his adherents, now imagining that he was killed, and his head sent to

London, began to be less strict, and not to keep so strict a look-out as before, by which means the Prince escaped from place to place with less danger.

About the beginning of August, the Prince went with his retinue to Lochaber, or Ach-nacarie, the seat of Lochiel. The next day the Prince was informed that M'Donald of Locharkie, Cameron of Cluns, and Cameron of Lochnasual, were in the neighbouring mountains—sent after them, and at the same time sent a messenger to Lochiel, who was then about twenty miles off, to let him know where he was. Before the Prince sent, Lochiel had heard that he was in the country, and sent his brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, by different roads, to get intelligence of him.

The person sent by the Prince to Lochiel met Dr. Cameron within a few miles of the place where Lochiel was, and was obliged to return to Lochiel with two French officers, whom he had met with, and who were in quest of the Prince also.

These French officers came from Dunkirk in a small vessel, with six other gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a company of volunteers, under the command of the said two officers. They got to Polliver, in Seaforth's country, where four of them landed to deliver their dispatches, two of whom were taken prisoners, one of whom they

hanged at Fort-William, pretending he had been a spy in Flanders; the other was sometime after exchanged upon the cartel. The other two wandered in Seaforth's country, till Lochgarie, hearing they had letters for the Prince, sent Captain Macraw and his own servant for them, that they might be sent to Lochiel, since the Prince could not be found.

This faithful person, sent by the Prince, would not own to the Doctor, or to the two French officers, that he knew any thing about the Prince, his orders being only to tell it to Lochiel himself, which he punctually observed; and as he said he had business of the utmost consequence, the Doctor conducted him, with the two officers, to Lochiel.

Next day Lochiel sent Dr. Cameron, with four servants, to the Prince; and sent the officers at the same time, to be under the care of one of his friends till farther orders. The Rev. Mr. Cameron, whom his brother, Lochiel, had sent out to get intelligence of the Prince, after travelling and searching many days, went to Achnacardie, where he met with his brother the Doctor going to the Prince, with the four servants, who, as the river was not fordable, raised a boat, which Captain Munro, of Culcairn, had sunk, after searching the isle of Locharkaig. When Culcairn was plundering in the

island, he saw some new-raised earth, and imagining there was either money or arms concealed, had it dug up, but only found a man's corpse, with a good holland shirt on, which made him believe it to be Lochiel.— He thereupon sent an express to the Duke of Cumberland, to tell him that Lochiel was dead of his wounds ; but it was the corpse of — Cameron, brother of Allan Cameron of Callart, which last was taken at Culoden, and carried to London. Rather than have no plunder, they took the shirt, and left the corpse lying on the ground.

Dr. Cameron and the minister observed some men by the water side in arms, sent some of Clun's children to see who they were; they, soon finding they belonged to Cluns, sent the boat for them, and then sent the four servants back again to Lochiel, pretending they were going to skulk in the wood for some days, and that keeping so many together might be dangerous.

They crossed the river, and went to the hut where the Prince was, which was built on purpose, in a wood betwixt Achnasual, and the end of Locharkaig. The Prince and Cameron of Achnasual, upon seeing the Doctor and his brother at a distance, and not knowing who they were, had left the hut and gone a little way from it; but on being informed who they were, immediately returned to a joyful meeting. When they

told the Prince that Lochiel was well, and recovered of his wounds, he thrice returned God thanks for it, and expressed uncommon joy.

The Prince was at this time barefooted, having an old black kilt coat, a plaid, and a philibeg, a gun in his hand, and a pistol and durk by his side; yet he was very cheerful, and in good health. They had killed a cow the day before, and the servants roasted a part of it, of which, with some bread they had got from Fort-Augustus, they made a hearty dinner.

The Prince proposed going immediately to Lochiel, but a friend telling him that he saw in a newspaper (which they got at the time they got their bread) that it was said the Prince had passed Coriarrick, with Lochiel and 30 men, which probably might occasion a strict search in those parts, he therefore resolved to stay some days longer where he was. However, two or three days after this, the Prince sent Lochgary and Dr. Cameron to Lochiel; and then dismissed Glenaladale and the Glenmoriston men, to return home again. The Prince continued in the hut with Cluns' children, Captain Macraw of Glengary's regiment, one or two servants, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron.

When the French officers already mentioned, came to Lochiel, some person told him these officers had left their letters with

Alexander M'Leod, one of the Prince's aid-de-camps. Though this proved true, yet, as they themselves had not told it to Lochiel, it made him suspect them to be government spies.

The Prince was very desirous to see these officers, but the Rev. Mr. John Cameron told him, what both Lochiel, the Doctor, and himself, were afraid of; upon which the Prince resolved to act in this affair with great caution, and said, he could not help observing, that it probably might be as they conjectured, because if they were not spies, it was surprising that two men, without one word of Erse, and quite strangers in the country, could escape the troops, who were always in motion, and in quest of himself and his followers.

However, as these officers had told Lochiel, that they had never seen the Prince, he (the Prince) laid a scheme to see them safely; and wrote a letter to this purpose, viz. "that to avoid falling into his enemy's hands, he was under a necessity to retire to a remote country, where he had no person with him, except one Captain Drummond, and a servant; and as he could not remove from where he was, without danger to himself and them, he had sent Captain Drummond with this letter; and as he could repose entire confidence in him, he desired they would tell whatever message they had to the bearer,

Captain Drummond, and take his advice as to their conduct." This letter he resolved to deliver himself, as Captain Drummond. Accordingly, the officers were sent for, and introduced to him under his borrowed name. He then delivered the letter to them, with which they seemed very well pleased, and told him every thing they had to say; which, he afterwards said, was of no great consequence, as his affairs then stood.

They continued there two days, and asked Captain Drummond many questions about the Prince's health, his manner of living, &c.

The Prince, thinking the packet left with Mr. Alexander M'Leod might be of use, sent for it; but as it was in cypher, and directed to the French ambassador, he could make nothing of it. Lochiel took care of these officers till the Prince was ready to go away, when they were conducted to the ship, and seeing that they had conversed with the Prince in so free a manner, taking him for Captain Drummond, they asked his pardon, which he readily granted.

The Prince and company continued in this wood, and that over against Achnacarie, (having three huts in different places, to which they removed by turns) until about the 10th of August; on which day Cluns' sons and the Rev. Mr. Cameron went to the Strath of Cluns to get intelligence.

They were not half an hour in the hut,

which Cluns had built for his family, (after his house was burnt) when a child about six years old went out, and returning hastily, said she saw a body of soldiers: this they could not believe, as Lochgary had promised Lochiel to have a guard between Fort-Augustus and Cluns, to give intelligence.

They went out, however, and found all true as the girl had told. Cluns skulked to observe the motions of that party; one of his sons, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, went to inform the Prince, who was that day in one of the huts on the other side of the water Kiaig, a short mile from Cluns; and in crossing the water at the ford, under cover of the wood, near the hut, the Rev. Mr. Cameron observed the party advancing.

The Prince was asleep, but Mr. Cameron soon awoke him; and told him that a body of their enemies was in sight: he then arose very composedly, called for his gun, sent for Captain Macraw, and Alexander, Cluns' son.

As they had received no intelligence of this party's marching out of Fort-Augustus, they concluded that there was some treachery in the case, and that they were surrounded on all sides. However, they determined, though but eight in number, rather than yield their throats to be cut, to sell their lives as dear as they could, and to die like men of honour; and the Prince said, "Lads let us live for a better day if we can."

The Prince examined all their guns, which were in pretty good order, and said he hoped they would do some execution before they were killed: for his part, he said, he had been bred a shooter, and could charge quick, was a tolerable marksman, and would be sure of one at least.

They then left the hut, and marched to a small hill above the wood, from whence they could see a great way up Glenkengie. They got there unobserved, under the cover of the wood. The Prince then sent Cluns, and the minister, to take a narrow view of the party, and resolved that night to go to the top of Mullantagart, a high mountain in the braes of Glenkengie, and sent one to Cluns and the minister, to know what they had heard or discovered.

When Cluns and the minister had got to the strath of Cluns, the woman told them that the party was about 200 of Lord Loudon's regiment, under Captain Grant, of Knockando, in Strathspey; that they had carried away ten milch cows, which Cluns had bought, after he was plundered before, and that they had found out the hut the Prince had in the wood of Torvalt, and said they were gone to fetch Barrisdale's cattle to the camp.

In the evening, Clun's son went to his father, and they all returned, and carried some whisky, bread, and cheese, about 12

o'clock at night, to the Prince, who was on the side of the mountain, without fire or any covering. They persuaded him to take a dram, and made a fire, which, however, they durst not keep above half-an-hour, before they extinguished it.

By day-light they went up to the top of the mountain, where they stayed till eight o'clock in the evening. The Prince slept all forenoon in his plaid, with wet stockings, though it hailed. From hence they went that night to the Strath of Glenkengie, where they killed a cow, and lived merrily for some days.

From this place they went to the braes of Achnacarie, and waded through the water of Arkey, up to the mid-thigh, in which wet condition the Prince lay all night, and the next day in the open air, yet he caught no cold.

In a day or two, Lochgarie and Dr. Cameron returned from Lochiel, (to whom they had been sent) and told, as Lochiel's opinion, that the Prince would be safer where Lochiel was skulking, which pleased him much.

The next night he set out with Lochgary, Dr. Cameron, Alexander, (Clun's son) the Rev. John Cameron, and three servants. They travelled in the night, and slept all the day, till they got to Lochiel, who was then among the hills, between the Braes of Bade-

noch and Athole. The minister returned about the 13th of September, and the next day was sent south by Lochiel, to hire a ship to carry them off from the east coast.

The ship was provided, and one sent to inform the Prince, Lochiel, and others, of it. But before this messenger got to the Prince and Lochiel, two of his friends, who had orders to watch on the west coast, came and told them that two French ships were arrived at Moidart.

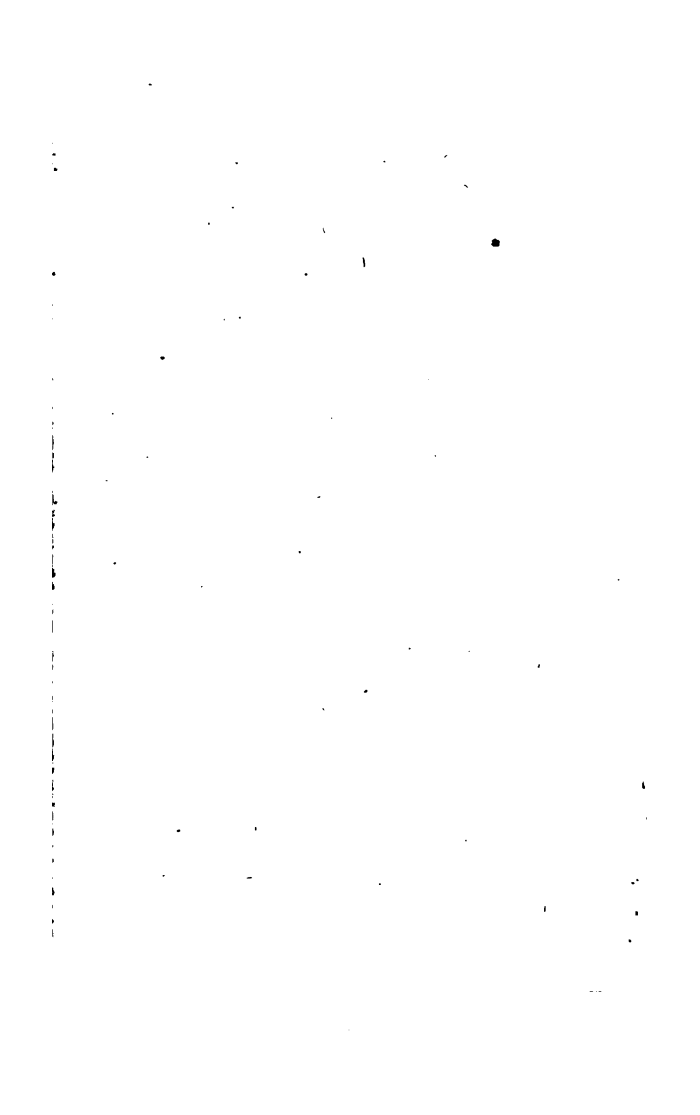
Upon this the Prince set out the night following, and sent to inform all the others, who were skulking in different places. Some arrived at the place appointed in time; but several, by some accident or other, had not the good fortune.

The Prince reached Moidart on September the 19th, 1746, and on the 20th embarked on board the *Bellona*, of St. Maloes, a Nantz privateer, of 32 carriage guns, 12 swivels, and 340 men, brought hither by Colonel Warran, of Dillon's regiment, who went on purpose for a vessel. The Prince, seeing his friends put first on board the ships, then embarked himself, and set sail immediately for France, where he landed safely at Roscort, near three leagues west of Morlaix, on the 29th of the same month, after a pleasant voyage.

From the foregoing account, we find that the Prince was twice in danger of being

shot; five times in danger of being drowned, having been in great storms in little boats; nine times pursued, and in sight of ships of war and other armed vessels; many times in danger of being taken, often seeing his pursuers, and sometimes being within hearing of them; six times miraculously escaped being taken. He was often almost famished for want of meat and drink—must often inevitably have starved, were it not for some favourable acts of Providence that exceeded all human aid or hope. He was mostly obliged to lie in miserable huts, having no other bed than the bare ground, or heath—often lying on wild mountains, without any other covering than the canopy of heaven, and with heavy dews and rains. Add to all these, he had frequent returns of the bloody flux.

Thus you have a faithful account of the whole escape, taken from the authorities already mentioned.



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